SERVIA BY THE SERVIANS

COMPILED AND EDITED BY

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WITH A MAP



LONDON
WILLIAM HEINEMANN
1909

DEDICATED

BY SPECIAL PERMISSION TO

HIS MAJESTY

KING PETER I. OF SERVIA

Петар.

INTRODUCTION

This book would be incomplete without some expression of the views and opinions of the Servian ruler, as well as those of the Servian people. The following lines have therefore a very special value and interest both for themselves and as setting forth the ideals of national development and progress as conceived by His Majesty King Peter I. of Servia.

WE are convinced that a healthy and judicious development of the body politic is the first requisite of national progress, and we are the faithful guardian of the Constitution and of the Parliamentary régime. By the strict observance of the Constitution we propose to secure the successful operation of the sovereign power and the proper conduct of important affairs of State. It is our aim to advance the prosperity and position of the country, and to promote its civilization in continuance of the honoured and great traditions of the past. We will, further, take every care that the rights and liberties of individual subjects may be adequately safeguarded and preserved. It is only by liberty that a people can prepare themselves completely to enjoy its fruits. How can ever a nation become accustomed to liberty by slavery ? We regard liberty, individual and national, as the first great essential for national development. The political divisions of a country should never be allowed to impair the national interests. Although Servians may belong to different political parties, they are all sons of the same country, and to them all the welfare of Servia is the greatest ideal. All parties should pay special attention to the principles of economy and efficiency in the management of public affairs and in the development of the material resources of the country. The intellectual development of the people can also not be neglected. It is not only

in itself a very definite form of progress, but it is also a means wherewith to further the general progress. The moral elevation of the people is necessary—in short, intellectual civilization and moral strength are two of the most potent factors of progress. Being desirous of placing the strength of the country on a sure and solid basis, we desire to encourage and promote education and to foster the personal character of the people, so that they may be enabled to fulfil satisfactorily the duties they owe to the State. Education has ever formed one of the first cares of the State. The spirit of loyalty, filial pity, and bravery which constitutes the fundamental character of the nation must ever be engendered and cultivated, since education is the sure foundation of future progress. It is necessary to raise and strengthen the morals of the people, since religion without morality is not perfect, is not a religion. It is of the greatest importance to strengthen the ideals and ties of family life, since the family system is the basis of our existence. Only an economically strong Servia will be able to attempt the solution of its great national problem, and therefore we make it our object to strengthen the economic basis of national life by encouraging agriculture and industrial enterprises, by promoting navigation and commerce, and by organizing the various means of communication. All should earnestly devote themselves to securing the greatest possible economic progress. Thrift at home and energy in all branches of business activity are most to be advised. The farmer who surpasses his neighbour, the merchant or the manufacturer who, by his efforts, raises the economic strength of Servia in any way, is as truly a patriot and a defender of his country as are the soldiers who have died upon the field of battle in achieving national freedom.

Industry must be promoted, but it is necessary that its development shall be systematic and reasoned, meeting the needs of the country. In order to preserve tranquillity at home and security abroad it is essential that the military defences and forces of the country should be made the object of gradual and constant care. The consequences of even a short delay in matters of national defence may be the cause of final regret. Within the limits of the national resources, therefore, we will endeavour to secure effectual protection for

national rights and interests. The greater the progress of a country, the greater is the increase of its national wealth and prestige ; but it must never be forgotten that its people are also compelled to take a greater responsibility upon themselves. For a nation there can be no standing still. A people must advance or fall behind, and in the constant progress, national and individual, upon which the Servian people are resolved, and for which they strive, they must spare no effort to be worthy of the historic task which has devolved upon them, and upheld by the memory and inspiration of the national ancestors they must allow no obstacle to stand in their forward path.

Year by year the nations of the world come closer and closer together, drawn by more intimate ties. More and more necessary becomes fuller knowledge among peoples, since ignorance is the most fruitful source of conflicts and misunderstandings. It is, therefore, almost a duty for nations to make possible for the world knowledge about themselves, so that at least something may be done to dispel existing ignorance. This duty is no more to be neglected than are those more generally recognized as necessary to a people.

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CHAPTER I

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

WHEN the Servians came into the Balkan Peninsula in the 7th century, they settled in the territories where they are found to-day—that is to say, Servia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Old Servia and Macedonia, Dalmatia, the Banat, with Slavonia. There are also some Servians in Croatia and the western portions of Bulgaria. The kingdom of Servia, which, besides Montenegro, is the only territory inhabited by Servians enjoying independence, lies at the extreme north of the Balkan Peninsula, bounded by Bosnia, Old Servia, Bulgaria, Rumania, the Banat, and Slavonia. The total length of its frontier is 1,678 kilometres, and the area is 48,300 square kilometres. Although possessing no high mountains, Servia is a mountainous country, since four-fifths of the territory is covered with mountains, with an average height of 1,500 feet. The four mountain systems of the Balkan Peninsula—the Dinaric Alps, the Carpathians, the Balkans, and the Rhodopes—meet and intermingle in Servia; thus the Servian mountains are varied both in their formation and in their structure. The country inclines towards the north, and is drained by the Rivers Save and Danube, belonging to the basin of the Black Sea. The principal rivers, which form at the same time the frontier, are the Save, the Danube, the Drina, and the Timok, while the most important river in the country itself is the Morava. There are many smaller streams, but, save the Save and the Danube, and for a certain distance the Drina, Servia does not possess navigable rivers. Since many of the smaller streams flow through defiles in the mountains and have great rapidity, the force of their current offers great possibility of utilization for water-power purposes. The general character of the country is of considerable beauty, and this is true, on the whole, of all the Servian countries. Thus the Servians love their country, not only because it is the fatherland in which they live, and which they have watered with their blood, but with especial affection because of its natural beauties. As a Servian saying runs, 'One travels the world over, to return to Servia.'

Servia lies in the same latitude as Italy, the South of France, and Spain, though it does not possess a Mediterranean climate, but a temperate Continental one. This is the result of the altitude of the country, the inclination towards the north, and the distance from the sea. The average winter temperature in January is −2° Celsius, while in July it is 25° Celsius. The rainfall is equally divided over the country and during the year, with very insignificant differences. The average rainfall is 690 millimetres, and there are, on an average, 130 rainy days. The winds in Servia are neither exceptionally strong nor cold. The climate has naturally a great influence upon the vegetation, which is very rich, being the same as that of Central Europe.

The country contains many varieties of wild animals and birds. Among useful animals are numbered the deer, chamois, and hares, while the dangerous species include bears, wolves, foxes, lynxes, wild-cats, wild-boars, etc. The principal varieties of birds are bustards, partridges, quails, pigeons, woodcocks, swans, wild geese and ducks, snipe, etc., while there are the following birds of prey : vultures, eagles, falcons, ravens, etc. There is an abundance of game, but it was only in 1898 that Game Laws were instituted, and the right of granting permission vested in the State. As is evident from the list of varieties of game, there is ample opportunity for excellent sport, which will no doubt develop as the Game Laws commence to produce the desired effect.

According to the census of 1900, the population was 2,492,882, while in 1905 this had increased to 2,700,000. The annual increase was 7·801 per cent. There were 1,000 men to 945·6 women. In 1834 there were 17·9 inhabitants per square kilometre, while in 1900 there were 51·6. Of the men, over 36 per cent. marry before they attain the age of twenty, and over 57 per cent. of the women. There are even nearly 5 per cent. among the women who marry before they are sixteen. The birth-rate is 43·96 per 1,000, and more than 43 per cent. of the families in Servia possess over six members. There are few natural children in Servia. The average length of life is 23·06 years, and there are only 59 per cent. of the population at a productive age—that is to say, between fifteen and seventy years old. The mass of the population lives on vegetable food, with the addition of milk and cheese, with only occasional meat. The bread is made of maize, and in many districts a sort of polenta is eaten. The food of the population is entirely produced in the country, and the cost of living in the interior is very low. The country produces annually, per head of population, 317 kilogrammes of grain and vegetables, 21 litres of wine, 2·36 litres of beer, and 370 grammes of tobacco.

The Servian language belongs to the group of Southern Slav languages, which includes also Croatian, Bulgarian, and Slavonian. It is necessary to say at once, however, that the Croatian language is very closely related to the Servian, and that, as a matter of fact, the two languages are not more different than two dialects of the same language. This difference has practically disappeared since the distinctive characteristics of Servia have entered Croatia, which was due to the immigration of Servians into Croatia in the 16th century, and to the adoption by the Croatians of the Servian dialect as a literary language in the second half of the 19th century. The Servian language first appeared during the 16th and 17th centuries. There are, indeed, monuments inscribed in the Servian language dating from the 12th century, and a comparison of these with more recent inscriptions proves that the language changed very little up till the 18th century. The Servian language has two principal dialects—the Chtokavski and the Tchakavski—called after the words 'Chto' and 'Tcha,' both of which mean 'What.' The former dialect is spoken by the Servians, anp the latter principally by the Croatians, who have, however, begun to replace it in their literature by the former. The intermediary dialects are between the Servians and the Slavonians—the Kajkavski, and between the Servians and the Bulgarians—the Torlatchki. The Chtokavski has three dialects—the Oriental, the Meridional, and the Occidental—according to the pronunciation of the ancient vowel 'jat.' The Oriental dialect is employed in the eastern half of the Servian lands, and it is largely replacing the other dialects, because it is used in literature. The Meridional dialect comes next in importance to the Oriental, and is the most melodious and beautiful spoken Servian language—that of the most beautiful poems and popular tales. The Occidental dialect is principally spoken on the Adriatic coast and on the islands. But all these differences of language are so small that the Servians may be said to possess, and certainly to feel, a unity of language both in the literary works and in the spoken language. To-day this language has arrived at such perfection that it may be considered as the best of the Slav languages, and this will undoubtedly lead it to replace the Croatian and Bulgarian languages. The Servian language has thirty sounds, each represented by a special letter, which makes the Servian alphabet the most perfect in existence. Nearly all the Servians are equally conversant with the Cyrillic and Latin characters, but the Western Servians, especially those of the Adriatic coast, principally use Latin characters. A hundred and fifty years ago the Servians employed the Slav alphabet, which was formed in the 10th century from Greek characters. This

alphabet was also used by the Bulgarians and by the Russians, but Peter the Great modified it after the Latin alphabet. This modified alphabet was introduced into the Servian literature by the principal writers of the 18th century. Vuk Karadgitch added six letters which were necessary, and threw out all those which were useless, and in this way the Servian alphabet became perfected. The Croatians and many of the Western Servians use the Latin alphabet, adapted, as to the number of letters, to the Servian alphabet. In common with other orthodox lands, Servia still maintains the old calendar, which is thirteen days behind that in use in Western countries.

It must, however, not be forgotten that Servia forms only a small part of the lands inhabited by the Servian race. It is of interest, therefore, to give briefly the numbers and districts of the various divisions of the race, which, although politically divided, have many ideas and interests in common.

THE SERVIAN-SPEAKING POPULATION.

Kingdom of Servia	2,750,000
Montenegro (about)	260,000
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1,799,210
Hungary (Banat, Batchka, Barania with Riéka)	679,000
Croatia and Slavonia	2,270,000
Dalmatia	623,000
Istria	155,000

OLD SERVIA (STATISTICS OF 1900-1906).

1. Sandfak of Novi-Bazar, Kossovo, and Metochia to the Char-Planina	450,000
Uskub (Kasas of Uskub, Tetoro, Kormranora, Préchévo, Kratovo, Kriva, Palanka, Kotchani, Pehtchévo, Istip, and Radovichte)	280,000
2. Macedonia	300,000
Total	9,656,210

(Of this number 2,915,600 are Catholics.)

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL SURVEY

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FIRST PERIOD : FROM THE ARRIVAL OF THE SERVIANS IN THE BALKAN PENINSULA UNTIL 1169.

THE actual province of Galicia, to the north of the Carpathians, was the fatherland of the Servians before their arrival in the Balkan Peninsula. As the allies of the Avars, they occupied the land called Servia in the beginning of the 7th century. In order to win them over, the Emperor Heraclius (610-641) ceded to the Servian tribes the provinces they already occupied, on condition that they acknowledged the authority of the Byzantine Empire and fought for its defence. As a means of strengthening the bonds between the Empire and the Servians, who were pagans, the Emperors endeavoured to convert them to Christianity. But it was only towards the close of the 9th century that they definitely adopted the new religion.

Until the 10th century the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetes is the first historian who speaks of the Servians. He says that their country adjoined the Danube and the Adriatic, and was bounded by the Ibar, Lakes Plava and Scutari, and the sea. To the north it was separated from Pannonia by the River Save. The slope between the Adriatic Sea and the mountains of Herzegovina consisted of four provinces : ***Zeta***, or the land of Diocles (nearly corresponding to the present land of Montenegro) ; *Travania* (around the town of Trebinye, with the territory between the Bocche di Cattaro and the town of Ragusa) ; *Hum*, or Zahumlye (from Ragusa to the Narenta) ; ***Neretva***, or the land of the Paganians or Narentians (between Narenta and Zettina). To this last province belonged the islands of Curzola, Meleda, Brazza, and Lezzina. Zettina was the boundary between the Servians and the Croats, but since then it has overflown with the Servian element. On the watershed of the Save and the Danube, Constantine Porphyrogenetes vaguely distinguished the little country of Bosna,

which later on became an important province (Bosnia). The junction between Adriatic and Danubian Servia was the plateau of Rascia (where the town of Novi-Bazar stands to-day), dominated in the north by Mount Kopaonik, and in the south by Mount Durmitor. This geographical centre of Servia later on became its political centre as well. To it must be added the following dependencies: the districts of Timok, Branitchevo, Morava, Sitnitsa, and the basins of the Drim and Vardar, which were at that time under Bulgarian rule. For more than a century after their settlement the Servians played no important part. The small States had Princes (Archouts), who frequently subdivided their lands into Jupanies, and civil wars were the natural result. Nevertheless, there was a tendency to create political centres for defence against neighbouring invaders. As a matter of fact, the Frank and Bulgarian Empires were disputing over the Servian tribes, and in the first quarter of the 9th century the Bulgars succeeded in subjecting them. At this period they occupied almost the whole of the present Servia, and a chief of the Bulgarian army had his garrison in Belgrade. They then attacked the Jupan Vlastimir, who had succeeded in emancipating himself from Byzantine suzerainty and in forming an independent State in Rascia (around the rivers Piva, Tara, and Lim, touching the basin of the Ibar in the east, and that of the Bosnia and Vrbes in the west), but after a three years' campaign they were beaten. Vlastimir's sons had to sustain a new attack in 863, and did so successfully. Shortly afterwards Rascia avowed herself once more the vassal of Constantinople, but internal disorders often enabled the Bulgarian Tsar Simeon to interfere in favour of one of the pretenders to the throne. In the struggle between Simeon, the most powerful Bulgarian Prince, and Levy the Wise, the Servians were the allies of the Byzantine Empire. But, profiting by the civil wars of Rascia, Simeon invaded the land, accompanied by the pretender Tchaslav. Zachary (921-924), the reigning Prince, took flight, and Simeon convoked the Servian Jupans in order to introduce his candidate to them. When they assembled, Simeon had them arrested, took possession of the country, and brought his pretender back to Bulgaria. Bulgarian rule over Rascia only lasted seven years (924-931), but it was so harsh that nearly the entire population fled to Croatia and to the Greek provinces. After Simeon's death (927), when Tchaslav came to Rascia, he found the land deserted. With the help of the Byzantine Empire, whose vassal he acknowledged himself to be, prosperity was restored to the land. In spite of its unfavourable commencement, his reign was successful: he united Danubian and Adriatic Servia; but after his death (about 960) decadence again set in. The

Greek Empire, having no longer anything to fear from the enfeebled Bulgars, took possession of Rascia, whose Prince or Grand Jupan fled into maritime Servia. From this time onward the Servian principalities of the Adriatic slope endeavoured, in their turn, to create a political centre. The Prince of Zeta, Trebinye, and Zahumlye, Stephen Voislav, freed himself from the Empire in 1040. His son Michel (1053-1081) added Rascia to his States, and obtained the title of King (*rex Sclavorum*) from Pope Gregory VII. Under the reign of his son, Constantine Bodin (1080-1101), the Servia of Tchaslav was reintegrated. Putting a Jupan at the head of Rascia, he planned to draw together all the Servians still under Byzantine rule (on the Morava and the Vardar).

Zeta's chief defect as a political centre was its distance from the Servian ethnographical centre. Notwithstanding all his efforts, the Jupan of Rascia did not succeed in his mission, and he was the first to detach himself from Zeta (1103) when the dislocation of the kingdom began. The Ban of Bosnia followed suit, so that the Greek Empire succeeded gradually in imposing its suzerainty once more over Zeta (1116), Rascia (1116), and Bosnia (definitely in 1116). Nevertheless, Rascia did not renounce its political rôle. Its Jupan, Urosh II. Pribislav, carried on two fierce campaigns against the Empire (in 1149 and in 1150), but the Emperor Manuel I. Comnenus triumphed, and had him deposed by his brother Dessa (1162-1168). The latter continued his predecessor's policy and shared the same fate. The Emperor Manuel put in his place Tichomir, the son of Zarid, who was chief of the party that desired peace with the Empire.

Second Period: The Dynasty of Stephen Nemanya (1169-1372).

In 1168 Rascia was divided among four brothers, sons of Zarid. These obeyed their eldest brother, the Grand Jupan Tichomir, who was in his turn vassal to the Emperor Manuel Comnenus. But Stephen, the youngest, aroused the jealousy of the others by his solicitude for the organization of his own territory, and war broke out, in which he was victorious. Nemanya's vanquished brothers went to beg the Emperor's assistance. He sent them back to Rascia with an army, but they were again defeated (1169), and the eldest brother perished on the battle-field. This victory marks the end of the Byzantine suzerainty over Rascia, and Stephen Nemanya now added to it a large portion of Adriatic Servia and of the coast (Zahumlye, Hum, Trebinye, Zeta, Scutari, Cattaro, etc.).

Nemanya's power was further increased by his very friendly relations with the Ban of Bosnia, Kulin, who had also delivered himself from the supremacy of the Eastern Empire.

In 1183 Stephen Nemanya attacked the Greek provinces as the ally of the King of Hungary, and in 1190 as the ally of the Bulgars. His troops penetrated as far as Sredets (now Sofia) in the east, and as far as Vranya, Prizren, and Uskub in the south; but, defeated by the Greeks in 1191, he lost all his conquests. His reign is noted for the persecution of the Bogumils, those sectarians being pitilessly exterminated or driven from the land. In 1196 Stephen Nemanya solemnly abdicated in favour of his second son Stephen, who became Grand Jupan. He had already given his provinces on the Adriatic coast to his eldest son Vukan, with the title of King. Stephen Nemanya's third son, Rastko, born about 1169, secretly left his home and became a monk in Sveta Gora (Mount Athos), where he was given the name of Sava. Here, with the consent of the Greek Emperor, the monastery of Hilindar was founded. The Greeks, Bulgars, and Russians had their religious centres here likewise, and they were at the same time literary centres. In this manner Servian ecclesiastical literature of the Middle Ages was in touch with the other orthodox literatures.

Stephen Nemanya died in 1199. The beginning of his son Stephen's reign was not happy. Hungary was powerful and ambitious, and the Holy See wished to make use of it to spread Catholicism in the Balkan Peninsula and to exterminate the Bogumils of Bosnia. Vukan, Nemanya's eldest son, who found that he had been unjustly deprived of the dignity of Grand Jupan, was ready to serve the Pope's designs. He succeeded in taking possession of Rascia, thanks to the Hungarian army, and thus became vassal to the King of Hungary. But his reign was short (1202-1204). Taking advantage of the troubles in Hungary, Stephen recovered his crown, reorganized the State, and, notwithstanding the enmity of the Bulgars, Hungarians, and Latins of Constantinople, managed to retain the boundaries that had been given him by his father. The conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders was not without a certain influence on the ecclesiastical affairs of Servia. As a matter of fact, the Greek Orthodox Church was in danger, and at the request of Sava, the Patriarch of Nicea, gave its ecclesiastical autonomy to Servia (1219). Thus the Servian Church freed herself from the influence exercised over her by the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Henceforth Archbishop and Bishops were nominated by the Servian Synod. At Stephen's request the Pope granted him the title of King, and he was crowned in 1220. He was surnamed Prvoventchani (*primus*

coronatus), and in this way all traces of the King of Hungary's suzerainty were effaced.

King (Kralj) Stephen died in 1227. The reign of his eldest son Rodoslav (1227-1233) is unimportant. He was dethroned by his brother Vladislov (1233-1242), who was, in his turn, dethroned by his youngest brother, Stephen Urosh I. (1242-1276). This Prince knew how to profit by the Tartar invasion of Hungary: he received a large number of miners, German by origin, who were flying from the Barbarians. The exploitation of mines soon increased to large proportions, and it was under his reign that the first silver coins were struck. Victories over the Bulgars rendered King Urosh I. very powerful. In 1257 he was mediator of peace between Bulgaria and the Emperor of Constantinople; in the same year, thanks to his influence, Constantine Tech, grandson of Stephen Nemanya, was elected Tsar of Bulgaria. His wars against the Emperor of Constantinople were not successful; his ally, the despot of Epirus, having been defeated, he was obliged to yield up his conquests. He allied himself with the King of Hungary by marrying his son Dragutin to the former's granddaughter. Through the influence of his wife Helen, a Princess of French origin (but whose identity has not been well established), he allied himself with Charles of Anjou, with the object of making war on the Empire of Constantinople; but in 1276 Urosh I. was dethroned by his eldest son Dragutin, the battle taking place on the plain of Gatsko in Herzegovina; he became a monk, and died shortly afterwards.

Dragutin (1276-1281), timorous and incapable, abdicated in favour of his brother, Urosh II. Milutin, who reigned from 1281 to 1321. He had hardly ascended the throne before he invaded Macedonia. The campaigns of 1282, 1283, and 1285 won him the greater part of that province. In 1285 the Tartars had established themselves in Bulgaria, which broke up into several principalities, their rulers recognizing the authority of the Tartar invaders. The north-eastern frontier of Servia was threatened, and, aided by his brother Dragutin (who had retained some Servian territories, and held, in addition, the Duchy of Matchva, with Sirmie and Slavonia as fiefs of the King of Hungary), King Milutin defeated the brothers Drunan and Kudelin, who held Branitchevo. In 1291 Milutin attacked another Tartar vassal, Prince Shisman of Widin. The city was taken, and Shisman declared himself the vassal of the Servian King. The latter gave his daughter Anne in marriage to his vassal's son. In 1296 the Byzantine Empire once more attracted his attention: he conquered Northern Albania and took possession of Durazzo. The Emperor Andronicus II. consented to the marriage of his daughter Simonide with the

King of Servia. At the death of his brother Dragutin the King inherited his estates, including the land of Matchva, which the former had held as fief of the Hungarian Crown. This caused war between the two kingdoms, and Milutin lost Matchva with Belgrade, but found compensation in Albania. Under his reign, commerce with Ragusa and Venice was very prosperous. Milutin erected and restored a great many churches, not only on his own estates, but also in the Greek Empire.

After his death he was succeeded by his son, Stephen Detchanski (1321-1331). Philip of Tarentum profited by the disturbances following his accession to take possession of Durazzo, while the Ban of Bosnia, Stephen Kutromanitch, seized the province of Hum. In 1321 Michal Shishmanitch, Prince of Widin, and vassal to the King of Servia, became Tsar of Bulgaria. In order to curry favour with the Greeks, he repudiated his wife Anne, sister to the King of Servia. In the quarrel between Andronicus II. and Andronicus III., Stephen took the part of the former, as Bulgaria had taken that of the latter. After the success of Andronicus III., war broke out (1330) between the Emperor, the Bulgars, and the Voivode of Wallachia, Tvanko Bassaraba, on the one side, and the King of Servia on the other. The Servian and Bulgarian armies met on the Plain of Velbiyde (Kustendil). On the 28th of July, 1331, the Tsar was killed. Hearing of the disaster, Andronicus III. beat a retreat on Adrianople whilst Stephen was entering Bulgaria, where he annexed the town of Nish and its surroundings. In commemoration of his great victory, he built the monastery of Detchani, the finest monument of Servian architecture in the Middle Ages. From this he got his name of Detchanski. The nobility of Servia was displeased by the fact that he had not taken his revenge on the Empire of Constantinople. The Greek party was very strong at the Court through the influence of Queen Mary, who wanted to secure the throne for her son Simeon, to the detriment of Dushan, the King's eldest son. Dushan rebelled, and the King was taken prisoner. On the 8th of September (O.S.), 1331, Dushan was solemnly crowned before the entire nobility; and on the 11th of November in the same year the noblemen who had taken part in the revolution had the old King strangled.

Under the reign of Stephen Dushan (1331-1355) the Servian State of the Middle Ages was at the summit of its power. All the Servian provinces except Bosnia, Ragusa, and a few territories under Hungarian rule, constituted a single State. Dushan had adopted the plan of his grandfather Milutin, which was to don the purple at Constantinople, and to found a Græco-Servian Empire. He developed a prodigious activity in order to achieve this object, allying himself with the new Bulgarian

Tsar, John Stratsimirovitch, by marrying his sister Helen. Shortly afterwards he invaded Macedonia, penetrated as far as Seres, and laid siege to Salonica. By the peace of the 26th of August (O.S.), 1334, he retained the greater part of these conquests. In 1336, 1337, and 1340, he seized nearly the whole of Albania, and of Epirus as far as Ianina. But his attention was soon arrested at Constantinople by the rivalry between the Emperor John V. Paleologus and Kantakuzen. Solicited by both parties, Dushan supported them each in turn, and in 1345 took possession of all Macedonia, with the exception of Salonica. These successes exalted his ambition, and in 1345 he proclaimed himself Tsar of the Servians and Greeks. At Uskub an assembly was held, composed of grand barons and the dignitaries of the Servian clergy, and of the Greek clergy in the conquered provinces. The Patriarch of Bulgaria was also present. The Archbishop of Petch, head of the Servian Church, was proclaimed Patriarch (the 16th of April, O.S.), and Dushan was crowned Emperor by both Patriarchs. The importance of this act did not escape the Court of Constantinople. In 1352 the Patriarch of that city anathematized the Servian Emperor and the assembly of Uskub. Meanwhile, in 1347, Dushan conquered Epirus, Etolia, and Acornania, and in 1348 he completed the conquest of Thessaly. To the Empire of Constantinople there only remained Salonica and Thrace.

Stephen Dushan was ambitious to make of his Empire a well-organized State, and with this object convoked, in 1349, an assembly of the grand barons and high clergy of Uskub. Here was solemnly promulgated the famous Zakonik (code) of the Emperor Dushan, which was completed in 1354 by the codification of the customs, ordinances, and laws of the Emperor's predecessors. This code ratified the privileges of the Church (Greek Orthodox), of the nobility, and the high clergy over the lower classes. Shortly afterwards the Bosnian frontier of the Empire was disturbed. In 1349, at the instigation of the King of Hungary, the Ban Stephen Kutromanitch pillaged the land of Trebinye (in Herzegovina). Dushan retaliated, but was obliged to cut short his victorious march in order to defend his southern provinces from the onslaught of Kantahuzen and of the Turks. But his campaign against the Ban of Bosnia implicated the Emperor in a war against Louis of Anjou, King of Hungary, and the Hungarians lost Belgrade. Meanwhile the Greek Empire was at the mercy of the Turkish hordes. At Constantinople a party was summoning a strong Christian domination of Servians, Venetians, and Hungarians against the Osmanlis. Here Dushan had an excellent opportunity. In order to safeguard himself from the Hungarians, he entered into negotiations with Pope Innocent, and engaged to

adopt the Catholic faith if he were named Captain of the Christian army against the Turks. But he died suddenly on the 20th of December, 1355.

The death of Stephen Dushan marks the commencement of Servian decadence. His successor, Urosh (1356-1372), was not qualified for his task, and the Servian Empire did not long survive its founder. The separatist tendencies of its Government and of its various populations, the struggle between the Servian Church and the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Turkish invasion, were the chief causes of the Empire's dislocation. Hardly had Urosh ascended the throne before disturbances manifested themselves in Acarnania, Epirus, and in Thessaly (1356-1358). The King of Hungary took back Belgrade, whilst the Governors of the other provinces refused to obey the Emperor. The most important of the rebels was Vukashin, who proclaimed himself the Servian King. He wished to replace the dynasty of Nemanya by his own, and to create a new State. He held the southern half of the Empire, with the towns of Prizren and Uskub, and the Empire now possessed only the lands to the south-east of Kara Dagh. At the same time, the Turkish invasion was becoming more and more threatening. They had already established themselves in Europe, and had attacked the provinces of Drama, held by Uglieshe, brother of King Vukashin. The two brothers united to expel them from Europe, and raised an army of 60,000 men, but the bulk of it was surprised and destroyed by the Turks on the banks of the River Maritsa. Both brothers lost their lives here on the 20th of September, 1371, and their provinces fell into the hands of the Turks. On the 2nd of December of the same year the Emperor Urosh died, childless.

Third Period: The Struggle for Political Independence against the Turks.

Prince Lazar Grebelyanovitch (1372-1389), a faithful vassal of the Emperor, secured one portion of his dominions, but it was the Ban of Bosnia, Tvrtko I., who endeavoured to uphold the traditions of the House of Nemanya, of which he was a descendant. In 1377 he put on the royal Servian crown at Mileshevo on the tomb of St. Sava, and proclaimed his lands to be the Servian kingdom. He had succeeded in restoring to Bosnia the provinces of Hum and of Trebinye, and a large portion of Rascia. The two Servian Sovereigns, Prince Lazar and King Tvrkto I., lived in concord. In 1387 they defeated the Turks, who had invaded Prince Lazar's territory. The Sultan Murat I. entered Servia in 1389, and a decisive battle took place on the Plain of Kossovo on the 15th of June, 1389.

The Sultan perished by the hand of a Servian knight, Milosh Obilitch, but the Turks were victorious: Prince Lazar was taken prisoner and beheaded.

Stephen Lazarevitch preserved his father Lazar's principality, and reigned from 1389 to 1427. The Sultan Bajazet granted this to him in return for military service and an annual tribute. It was as vassal to the Sultan that Stephen took part in the battle of Nicopolis, and it was he who secured the victory of the Turks over the Hungarian King Sigismund. In 1403 the King of Hungary gave the province of Matchva, with Belgrade as a fief, to 'despot' Stephen. That city now became the capital of Servia. George Brankovitch (1427-1456) had to contend with the Sultan, who had laid claim to Servia in virtue of Bajazet's marriage to the former despot's sister. He built the celebrated fortress of Smederevo (Semendria). He was succeeded by his son, Lazar Branvokitch, who reigned only from 1356 to 1358. Taking advantage of the disturbances which arose in Servia after the death of despot Lazar, the Sultan invaded the land, and transformed it into a Pashalik (1459). This was the end of Servian despotism. As to the fall of the Servian kingdom of Bosnia, it lost its influence and power under Tvrtko I.'s weak successors. In 1463 Sultan Mohammed II. entered Bosnia unexpectedly at the head of 150,000 men and took possession of the country. The last King, Stephen Tomashevitch, was captured and beheaded.

The Grand Voivode of Hum, Stephen Vuktchitch, had succeeded, in 1445, in detaching himself from the kingdom of Bosnia, and had put himself under the suzerainty of the Sultan. Since 1448 he had assumed the official title of Herzog (Duke) of St. Sava (hence the name of Herzegovina—Dukedom—which was given to the province of Hum), and the Sultan, after conquering Bosnia, marched against him, but without success. Herzegovina was only conquered in 1482i, n the reign of Stephen Vuktchitch's sons. As for Zeta, it held out for some time longer. A native Prince of this province, Stephen Tsrnoyevitch, profiting by George Brankovitch's misfortunes, and aided by the Republic of Venice, whose vassal he acknowledged himself to be, had succeeded in making himself independent (1455). On their side the Venetians had taken possession of the coast of Zeta. Stephen's son, Ivan, with the Venetians, had to sustain a struggle against the relentless Turks. Ivan retired to the mountains of Tsrna Gora (Montenegro), and made Cettinje his capital. But in 1499 the Turks succeeded in imposing their authority on this country. This was the end of the Servian people's efforts to defend from the Turks the fragments of the medieval Servian State. The struggle continued, but took on another character.

FOURTH PERIOD: FROM THE CLOSE OF THE 15TH CENTURY TO THE SERVIAN REVOLUTION OF 1804.

The Servians could not lightly accept Turkish domination. They were taken by thousands and sold as slaves in the markets of Constantinople and Egypt, and the system of recruiting for the Janissary corps rendered their situation still more intolerable. This is why the conquest of the Servian lands was followed by numerous emigrations to the neighbouring provinces. Venetian Dalmatia and the southern parts of Hungary especially benefited by the influx. However, the Servians that remained under the Turkish yoke were not docile rayah (slaves). Numerous bands of Haiduks infested the roads; they wreaked vengeance not only on the Osmanli invaders, but on the renegades, who were particularly plentiful in Bosnia. The Bosnian nobility, by turns Catholic and Bogumil, had had no scruples in embracing Islamism to preserve its fiefs and its privileges. The exploits of the Haiduks and Uskoks (Servian runaways from Austrian or Venetian domination) are a favourite subject of the Pesmas or Servian national songs. In this popular poesy, and in Greek orthodox religion, the national sentiment took refuge, and hence the Servian Church has the character of a national rather than of a religious institution. It is unnecessary to insist here on the struggle of the people with its symbol of the 'Holy Cross' against the 'Crescent.' We shall only dwell on the fate of the Servians in Hungary, which is an important episode of this period.

Even before the Turkish invasion there were numerous colonies of Servians in Southern Hungary. Their number was increased by certain concessions to the Servian despot George Brankovitch, which gave him many fiefs and possessions in Hungary. These he peopled with his countrymen. George Brankovitch's descendants bore the title of Servian despot, and were counted among the great Barons of the Crown of St. Stephen. Already, towards the second half of the 16th century, Southern Hungary was chiefly inhabited by Servians, who had also settled on the frontiers of Croatia and Slavonia, where, even in the first half of the 16th century, the celebrated military confines or settlements along the frontier had been erected. The Serbo-Croate peasants of these confines were soldiers and labourers at the same time; they had a military organization. Finally, Austria's wars with the Turks (1683-1699) brought about the principal Servian emigration to Hungary. In 1690, by permission of Emperor Leopold I., the Servian Patriarch of Petch or Ipek (in old Servia), Arsenius Tcharnoyevitch, crossed over to Hungary with a considerable number of Servian families. By letters patent the Emperor

had guaranteed to them a certain religious and political independence. In 1691 they were allowed to elect a Vice-Voivode, instead of the Voivode, or despot, George Brankovitch, whom the Austrian Government had locked up for 'State reasons.' These privileges were several times confirmed, but, as a matter of fact, they were little heeded. As long as the Court of Vienna had need of the Servians, either against the rebel Hungarians or the Turks, or any other enemy, they were protected; but as soon as the danger had disappeared, the Servians had to contend with the Catholic clergy and the Hungarian authorities. After the Peace of Karlovits, military confines were established in 1702 along the Save, the Danube, the Theiss, and the Marosh, and these were peopled exclusively with Servians. This Servian militia particularly distinguished itself in Prince Eugene of Savoy's campaign (1716-1718). By the Peace of Passarovits (the 21st of July, 1718) a large tract of Servia, with Belgrade, was left to the Emperor. A military organization was introduced, but the land gained little by the change of government. The Austrian authorities next began negotiations with the Patriarch of Petch, Arsenius Yovanovitch Shakabent, who endeavoured in 1737 to cross into Austria with a new Servian migration. But a large number of the emigrants were massacred on the way. In 1738 Servia once more fell under the Turkish yoke, and in 1765 the Patriarchate of Petch was suppressed, so that the Servians under Ottoman rule lost their religious autonomy. This, however, was not the only disastrous consequence of the Servian emigrations. This exodus caused the Servian element in Old Servia to be weakened, and to be replaced by the Albanian. To-day the Albanians constitute a majority in Old Servia, and have for centuries been committing every kind of atrocity on the Servians. The dignity of the Patriarchate was restored in 1848, and bestowed upon the Metropolitan of Karlovits, the head of the Servian Church in Hungary. At the accession of Maria Theresa, the Servian element in the Austrian army was greater than all the others put together. The services rendered by the Servians in the War of Succession obtained for them, in 1743, a fresh ratification of their privileges. It must be mentioned here that, thanks to their military organization and their fidelity to the Austrian Court, the Servians were always supported in their demands by the Court Military Council of Vienna (Hofkriegsrath), whilst the Hungarian Chancery of Vienna (Ungarische Hofkanzlei) murmured at the privileges enjoyed by the Servians in Hungary.

In 1747 a National Rascian Congress assembled, and presented its grievances to the Royal Commissioners against the attacks of the Hungarian authorities on their privileges; but

Vienna only took half measures—a Hof Commission and, later, a Hof Deputation were instituted for Servian affairs. Som portions of the military confines having been dissolved an incorporated with Croatia and Hungary, more than 100,00 Servians, anxious to escape the provincial Hungarian jurisdiction, quitted the country in 1751, 1752, and 1753. They settled in Russia between Kieff and Otchakoff, and gave to their district the name of New Servia. In spite of the brilliant action of the Servian contingent in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), the Servian families were treated with rare brutality by General Petazzi and his colleagues, who endeavoured to convert them at any price to Catholicism. Their long experience had taught the Servians that, notwithstanding numerous ratifications, their privileges were little respected by the public authorities of Hungary, and that they were not sufficiently protected by the Court of Vienna. Accordingly, they altered their tactics by demanding a political recognition of the Servian nationality in the kingdom of Hungary. In this, however, they were not successful. The Court of Vienna was opposed to it, and looked upon the Servians as 'a patrimony of the House of Austria, and not of the kingdom of Hungary.' In consequence of the claims of the Servian National Congress of 1769, the Austrian Government promulgated a *Regulamentum illyricum* (completed by a second in 1776), which apparently granted a larg measure of satisfaction to the Servian claims, but in reali tampered with their traditional privileges. The Servia showed their discontent openly, and in 1779 the *Declaratoriu illyricum* was published, which especially concerned religious and educational autonomy.

Under the reign of Joseph II. the Servians benefited by the religious tolerance proclaimed in the Edict of the 25th of October, 1781. During the Russo-Turkish War of 1787, in which Austria took part as Russia's ally, Joseph invaded Servia, and Belgrade was seized (September, 1789). The Servians had particularly distinguished themselves in this campaign. But their hope that Austria would deliver Servia from its Ottoman yoke was not realized. Other events engaged the attention of the Emperor Joseph, who died on the 20th of February, 1790, without seeing the end of the war. By the Treaty of Svishtov (Sistov), 1791, Servia, with Belgrade, was given back to the Turks.

Leopold particularly favoured the Servians: he had their Metropolitan and their nine Orthodox Bishops convoked in the Hungarian Landtag (1790), allowed the convocation of a national Servian Congress (1790), and established the Illyrian Chancery (Illyrische Hofkanzlei) at Vienna for Servian affairs. But the Hungarian States were alarmed by these concessions,

id in 1791 they consented to grant the full and entire rights Hungarian subjects to the Greek Orthodox Servians, allowing em, besides, all the privileges which were not in opposition the fundamental laws of the kingdom's Constitution. hortly afterwards the Illyrian Chancery was suppressed (1792), out in practice the Servians were left at the mercy of the Hungarians.

The Servians of Hungary have done much for the intellectual development and for the political emancipation of their brethren in the present kingdom of Servia. When the Servian Revolution broke out in 1806 they gave them munition, and helped them in numerous other ways, large numbers of Servians from the military confines crossing to Servia to fight the Turks. It is among the Servians of Hungary that Servia recruited her first functionaries, her professors, her doctors, her instructors, and even her legislators.

Fifth Period: From the Servian Revolution of 1804 to the Present Day.

The Turkish onslaught on the Balkan Peninsula was most fiercely resisted by the Servian race, although this was partioned into small States and lacked a strong political organiza-1. When the Turks finally conquered Servia, Bosnia, zegovina, and Zeta, the Servian people, incapable of subtting to the oppressive Turkish rule, emigrated in large numbers to the republic of Venice or to the kingdom of Hungary. They served these States as a stronghold against the Ottoman attacks, or as their advance-guard in the struggle with the Sultan. The portion of the Servian nation that remained in its native land, crushed and humbled by the Turks, sought the alleviation of its misery and the hope of a brighter future in its faith and in the glorious past, whose memory was preserved in the national songs. Unable themselves to direct the struggle against the powerful Turkish Empire, the Servians in Servia were ever ready to clasp the hand that offered them liberty.

After its defeat at Vienna (1683) the Turkish Empire began to decline rapidly. Austria, who had hitherto contended with the Porte for her own defence, now took the offensive. By the Peace of Karlovits (1699) Hungary was, to a great extent, lost to the Turks; and by the Peace of Passarovits (concluded in 1718, after the glorious campaign of Prince Eugene of Savoy) Austria gained not only the whole of Hungary, but the Bosnian valley of the Save, Wallachia as far as the River Olt, and a large portion of actual Servia. She lost this latter acquisition, however, in 1739, by a treaty arranged in Belgrade.

In all these wars the Servians, to a man, united with Austria, fighting bravely beside her troops. And each retreat of the Austrian army was followed by a fresh migration of the Servians into Hungary from the lands that fell under the Sultan's power. It appeared as though the political future of the Servian tribes across the Danube and the Save were closely bound up with Austria, and with the issue of her struggle to destroy Turkish rule in the Balkan Peninsula. In 1787 Joseph II. and Catherine II. had formed an alliance, whose ultimate object was the division of the Turkish Empire between them; in accordance with such a partition the Servian lands would fall to Joseph. Events in France, however, caused Austria to make peace with the Porte at Svishtov in 1791, and to yield up the Pashalik of Belgrade, which she had occupied. The Treaty of Svishtov granted a pardon to the Servians who had taken part in the late war.

These wars between Austria and the Porte were of serious import for Servia: they nursed that spirit of independence and that desire for freedom so easily developed in mountainous and wooded lands like Servia. Fostering the military spirit among the population of this Turkish province, they created the hope that Austria would one day deliver Servia from the Ottoman yoke. When, in accordance with the Treaty of Svishtov, the Servian towns were being surrendered to the Turkish Commissioners, the latter were unpleasantly surprised on one occasion to see a detachment of Servian soldiers issue forth and perform their drill in European fashion. 'Neighbours, what have you done with our rayah?' exclaimed a Turkish Commissioner to his Austrian colleagues. On recovering its authority over the Pashalik of Belgrade, the Porte ruled with comparative mildness. The Servians who had taken a prominent part in the recent Austro-Turkish War were allowed to live peacefully in their homes. But this condition of things did not last long. By the Treaty of Svishtov the janissaries were forbidden to reside in Servia on account of the disorders they created and their ill-treatment of the people. Nevertheless, they began to creep stealthily back to the land, distinguishing themselves as tradesmen. They finally succeeded in forming a conspiracy with the other Turks, who were equally displeased with the concessions granted to the Servians, and the Vezir of Belgrade, Mustapha Pasha, was murdered. Four of the chief conspirators then put themselves in authority, and informed the Sultan that they had killed the Vizer because he was more of a Christian than a Mohammedan. They begged him to send them a new Vezir. When the Vezir arrived shortly afterwards, he became simply a tool in the hands of the Dahias, as these four assassins now called themselves. By protecting

thieves and tramps from Bosnia and Albania, they were enabled to oppress and to tax the Servian people in the most cruel fashion; the lives and property of the Turkish residents themselves were not secure. But the Porte was powerless to interfere, and its reprimands were unheeded. Anarchy prevailed in the Turkish Empire, and most of the Pashas who ruled the provinces were in revolt. In such circumstances the Servians could only count on themselves for defence against their oppressors. The Dahias had foreseen this, and to avert a national rising, they resolved in their madness to kill all the best-known and most respected men who were capable of calling the nation to arms and then becoming its leaders. About a hundred popular Servians were murdered (at the close of 1803 and in the beginning of 1804), whilst a great many escaped only by flight into the mountains. Among these was Karageorges Petrovitch. Gathering a large number of men around him, he started to fight the Turks and to incite the nation to rebellion (January to February, 1804). In a short time the entire Pashalik of Belgrade was in revolt, and the towns, where the Turks sought shelter, were besieged by the Servians.

Having taken up arms, the Servians assured the Porte that they had not risen against the Sultan, but against the tyranny of the Dahias, rebels against the Sultan. This statement, coupled with the general miserable condition of Servia, caused the Porte to pay little attention to events there. While the Servian rebels were deceiving the Porte in this fashion, they sought a way of delivering themselves for ever from Turkish rule. They first solicited Austria's assistance and protection. At that moment Austria's politics were centred in Germany and Italy, where Napoleon I. was exercising great pressure. Preoccupied as she was, Austria could not, therefore, avail herself of the complications in Turkey, and she received the Servian propositions with coldness; yet, lest the Servians should have recourse to someone else, she counselled them to make peace with the Porte. The erection of a Slav Orthodox State beyond her southern frontier was by no means in the interests of Austria. Servia could thus become a formidable centre, not only for the Servians in Turkey, but likewise for those in Austria. This is still the basis of Austria's policy towards Servia, and she stands by it steadfastly. Unable to hinder the creation of Servia, Austria has at least done everything in her power to confine that little State within its boundaries, and to subject it as much as possible to her own interests.

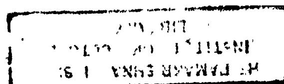
After their cold reception by Austria, the Servians appealed to Russia (May, 1804), who promised them her moral support with the Porte; but at that time her influence at Constantinople

was insignificant, and she was endeavouring to draw the Porte itself into an alliance against Napoleon. Thus the Russian counsels to the Porte to grant certain concessions to the Servians were unheeded. In 1805 the Porte became alarmed at the proportions assumed by the Servian rebellion, and a Vezir was despatched with a considerable army to stifle the revolt, but towards the middle of August in the same year he was completely defeated. This caused a great sensation at the Divan. The situation became still more complicated when, after her defeat at Austerlitz (December, 1805), Austria ceded Istria and Dalmatia to France. Russia and Austria, who had hitherto looked upon Turkey as their natural heritage, were now confronted by a formidable rival. Without doubting that Napoleon would undertake the destruction of the Turkish Empire, and would for that purpose interfere in the Serbo-Turkish dispute, both Empires warmly advised the Porte to regulate the Servian question. But, as usual, the Porte hesitated to follow the advice given, and in the course of 1806 the Servians inflicted severe defeats on its two armies. In January, 1807, seeing that they could get no assistance, the Turks in Belgrade (the largest fortress in the Pashalik of Belgrade) surrendered. The other forts had already fallen into the hands of the Servians. At this time a very important event for the destinies of Servia had already taken place. By the intrigues of General Sebastiani, Napoleon's Ambassador at Constantinople, Russia and the Porte had fallen out over the privileges of Wallachia and Moldavia (towards the close of 1806). In January, 1807, the Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army in the invaded Roumanian territories summoned the Servians in the name of Tsar Alexander I. to join the Russians as their allies in the war against the Turks. The Servians responded without hesitation, and remained the allies of the Russians until 1812, when the Treaty of Bucarest was concluded between Russia and the Porte. Thanks to Russia's material help, the Servians were enabled to make frequent inroads into Bosnia and the neighbouring Pashaliks, thus causing a diversion from the important Russian operations in Bulgaria. The Servian boundaries were greatly extended by the addition of entire provinces (Okrugs) wrested from the adjoining Pashaliks. In the Treaty of Bucarest, however, Russia was unable to keep her promise to the Servians that she would win for them complete independence. Terrified by Napoleon's invasions, notwithstanding all her successes, Russia could not dictate terms to the Porte. By Article 8 of the Peace of Bucarest, it was agreed that the Servians would once more fall under the Porte's rule, and surrender their forts and towns to the Turks. But, on the other hand, they were granted a complete amnesty, as

well as their interior autonomy—*i.e.*, the Turks were no longer to interfere in the interior administrations of the land. The Servians were dumbfounded when they heard the Treaty's conditions relating to themselves. Meanwhile, seeing Russia taken up by her conflict with Napoleon, the Porte now exacted an unconditional surrender from the Servians, and refused to accord them even the little that had been guaranteed at Bucarest. This naturally resulted in a fresh conflict.

In August, 1813, rid of the Russians, the Turks attacked Servia from Widin, Nish, and Bosnia. The operations were directed by the Grand Vezir himself. The resistance was desperate on the entire frontier, but the Servians were at last compelled to retire before the force of the Turkish army. Although the means of defence had not yet been exhausted, a chaos reigned in the land. Karageorges, who had distinguished himself by his years of struggle against the Turks, lost heart, and secretly crossed over to Austria one night (the 5th of October) with the Russian Consul and the Metropolitan of Belgrade. Hearing of his flight, the other Voivodes also abandoned their posts, and hastened to transport their families in safety across the Save and the Danube, leaving the people at the mercy of the Turks. The land was now defenceless, and the Turks easily took possession of the forts and towns around which the Servians had shed their blood for so many years.

The Porte appointed Suliman Pasha Skopliok from Bosnia to be the Vezir of Servia. He was a bloodthirsty tyrant, and the period of his rule brought back the terrible days of the Dahias. The nation, crushed and exhausted by long years of strife and misery, was forced once more to take up arms and defend itself against the oppression which threatened final extermination. In April, 1815, at an assembly outside the church of Takovo, Milosh Obrenovitch exhorted the people to fight the Turks once more. Milosh had been one of Karageorges' best Voivodes, and in the critical year of 1813 he had not abandoned the land. But hardly had the Servians defeated the Turks in a few battles, when two mighty Turkish armies arrived on the Servian frontier. The Servians were in hard straits, but just then the scale turned in their favour. Napoleon's power had been definitely broken, and Russia's hands were free. The energetic protests of the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople *re* the disregarding of the Bucarest Treaty caused the Porte to yield for fear of war with Russia. The Roumelian Voliya, Morashli-Ali-Pasha, who commanded the southern army, was ordered to grant certain concessions to to Servians, and by the arrangements made with Prince (Knez) Milosh, the Servians received a weak *autonomous administration* (October, 1815). But this was not all, although the Porte



endeavoured that it should be so. In 1816 there were negotiations at Constantinople between the Russian Ambassador and the Porte for a revision of the Bucarest Treaty, many of whose points had been disregarded or left unfulfilled. Concerning Servia, the Ambassador requested the Sultan to issue a special Hatithérif, containing all the privileges that had been guaranteed to the Servians by Article 8 of the Bucarest Treaty. In 1820 the Porte reluctantly consented to confer with the deputies of the Servian people. Prince Milosh, who held fast to Russia, sent a large deputation to Constantinople in November. But the Greek rising of 1821 caused Russia to break off relations with the Porte, and the Servian deputies were thrown into prison to serve as hostages of peace in Servia. They remained in prison until the 5th of April, 1826, when the Porte replied to the ultimatum of Tsar Nicolas, accepting all the Russian stipulations, including that which demanded the deliverance of the Servian deputies.

At the Convention of Ackerman, between the Turkish and Russian plenipotentiaries (October, 1826), the Treaty of Bucarest, with Article 8, was revised in detail. By Article 5 of the Convention, and by a separate decree which completed the Article, the Porte engaged to determine with the Servian deputies in the period of eighteen months the privileges demanded. These privileges were: religious liberty; the choice of their own chiefs; independence of interior administration in Servia; the union of the various taxes into one; the ceding to the Servians of the administration of Mussulman property on condition of paying the revenue with the tribute; permission to Servian merchants to travel with their own passports in the Roumanian States; the establishment of hospitals, schools, and printing-offices; interdiction to Mussulmans (except those pertaining to the garrison) to settle in Servia. Further, the Porte was to surrender the six Nahias or provinces which belonged to Servia before the conclusion of the Bucarest Treaty, and which did not take part in the rising of 1815 under Milosh. The Convention of Ackerman solemnly guaranteed Russia's right to protect Servia. But for the Porte the Convention was only a means of gaining time for the formation of a new army to replace the janissaries destroyed. The Greek question only helped to embitter the relations, already strained, between Russia and the Porte.

On the 14th of April, 1828, Russia declared war. The war was terminated in the following year by the Treaty of Yedreni (the 14th of September, 1829), which confirmed all the clauses relating to Servia that had already been ratified by the Convention of Ackerman. In 1830 all those Servian privileges decided upon at Ackerman were worked out in detail in a

special Hatichérif, drawn up by the Porte with the help of the Russian Ambassador. By a special Berat the Sultan bestowed upon Milosh Obrenovitch the dignity of hereditary princedom, to which the Servians were not entitled. The Ackerman Convention had only granted the Servians the right of choosing their own chiefs. Thus the Porte sought to win over the Principality, since it could not hinder its creation. Meanwhile it hesitated to yield up the districts which formed the Servia of Karageorges when the Treaty of Bucarest was ratified, and which did not join the rising of Servia in 1815. In 1832-1833, taking advantage of the panic caused by the Egyptian vassal Mehmed-Ali, Milosh incited disturbances in these parts, and invaded them to 'restore order.' The Porte acknowledged this *fait accompli*, as it could make no protest; the Servian right to the provinces was unquestionable, and just then Russia was all-powerful at Constantinople. Servia retained these boundaries until the Congress of Berlin. Meanwhile the Porte had succeeded in retracting a concession granted Servia by the Hatichérif of 1830. That Act provided that the Turks living in the towns and villages should either quit the land or move into the fortresses to serve as their garrisons. The sense of the Hatichérif was that there should be no Turkish citizens in Servia, except those belonging to the garrisons. Notwithstanding Milosh's reminders, and those of the Russian Ambassador, the Porte was, according to her well-known tactics, delaying the departure of the Turks from Servia. At last, thanks to her treaty with the Porte at Unkiar Skelessi (the 8th of July, 1833), Russia turned protector rather than ally to the Porte, and, to satisfy her new client, she solved the question of the migration of the Turks from Servia in their favour. Thus, in addition to the city garrison in Servia, there remained strong Turkish settlements in the towns of Belgrade, Ujitse, Shabats, and Smederevo, and on the banks of the River Drina in the villages around Sokolo and Sakar. Since her privileges gave Servia a defined position with regard to the Porte, a strong movement was now set on foot in the land to prevent the Prince's rule from assuming too individual a character. In 1835 the principal leaders excited a regular revolt against the Prince, and demanded that his power should be restricted. Milosh consented to this, and a Constitution was proclaimed on the 14th of February of the same year. But that representative of legitimism in Europe and protector of Servia, Tsar Nicolas I., would not hear of a Servian 'Constitution,' and Milosh was obliged to retract his gift. Shortly afterwards a dispute arose between Milosh and Russia. The latter decided that the extent of Milosh's authority should be determined, and demanded that he should issue an 'organic regulation'

(carefully avoiding the name of Constitution), which would restrict his authority by councils of lifelong members, as had been foreseen by Article 19 of the Hatichérif of 1830. But, contrary to Russia's demand, Milosh wanted the councillors to be ordinary functionaries whom he could dismiss or appoint at will. It was in these circumstances that Colonel Hodges, the first British Consul, came to Belgrade.

Striving against Russia's preponderating influence at the Porte, Lord Palmerston deemed it useful, after the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, to send an agent to Servia who would supervise Russia's work in this free Slav State of the Balkans. The following is Lord Palmerston's letter of the 27th of February, 1837, presented by Hodges to Milosh:

'SIR,

'The King my Master being desirous still further to strengthen the Friendship and cement the good understanding which have so long subsisted between Great Britain and the Ottoman Porte, and to extend the commercial intercourse between this Country and the territories governed by Your Highness; His Majesty has determined to appoint an Individual to perform the duties of British Consul for Servia, and His Majesty has selected Colonel Hodges to fill that position.'

Hodges chiefly occupied himself with politics, and the moment was favourable. Meanwhile the more Russia pressed Milosh to issue an administrative regulation, the more suspicious he became of Russian designs. Distrustful by nature, he saw in Russia's insistence an inclination to the interests of his enemies. The projected council would be formed by the men who had rendered greatest service to the land, and these were the very men who were contesting his authority. Milosh took Hodges without reservation into his confidence; he was prepared to resist Russia if Great Britain would consent to take him under her protection. Hodges himself criticized Milosh's system of government, but he was convinced that the proposed councillors themselves could not govern the land any better. Of two perils, the lesser must be chosen.

Milosh had the advantage over his adversaries in that these belonged heart and soul to Russia, whereas, notwithstanding his regard for Russia and his gratitude towards that mighty Empire, he was not at all anxious to obey her orders. Hodges gave Milosh great encouragement, assuring him that Great Britain and France would support him. After furnishing his Government with numerous details, Hodges received a telegram on the 31st of December, 1837, from Sir Frederic Lamb, the British Ambassador in Vienna. He at once communicated its contents to Prince Milosh, who thereby learnt that, at the

suggestion of the British Government, the Porte was about to invite him to send his deputies to Constantinople 'pour traiter avec la Porte des bases d'une nouvelle Convention avec la Serbie, sous la garantie de plusieurs — on peut-être de toutes—les Grandes Puissances de l'Europe." Thus Milosh could have got rid of Russian tutelage and increased the national privileges, for he had also obtained a promise that those Turks should depart who had remained in the Servian towns, according to Russia's decision. 'Suivant cette concession les Turcs devraient quitter les villes de la Serbie à commencer par Belgrade, les autorités turques des fortresses seraient presque soumises a Votre Altesse, et ne pourraient rien entreprendre sans vous consulter.'

On the 13th of April, 1838, Milosh received an invitation to send his deputies to Constantinople. But England did not succeed in persuading the Sultan that it would be to his own interest to have Servia placed under the joint protection of the Great Powers; the Porte was not disposed to fall out with Russia over the latter's exclusive right to protect Servia. England now possessed but one means of restricting Russia's influence in Servia, and that was to preserve Milosh's authority intact, since Milosh was the strongest opponent to Russian interference. According to the information given by Hodges, this could be done if, contrary to Russia's designs, the attributes of the State Council were determined. Lord Ponsonby, the British Ambassador in Constantinople, was of the same opinion, and he assured Milosh through Hodges that the Porte would take note of his wishes at the drafting of the Constitution, and especially when it would be a question of the Council. Finally, when it became necessary to influence the composition of the Act, Lord Ponsonby summoned Hodges himself to Constantinople to give his advice. Hodges returned from Constantinople in September, 1838, and informed the Prince that the Sultan himself was resolved to safeguard the entire extent of his (the Prince's) authority. Further, the Sublime Porte now clearly realized Russia's secret design, concealed in her proposal of an immovable Council. Finally, both England and France would energetically side with the Porte if Russia attempted to exercise any undue pressure. Great was Milosh's surprise when, notwithstanding these promises, he received a copy of the Constitutional Hatichérif of December, 1838, which decreed that the Prince of Servia's authority was to be restricted by a Council of seventy lifelong members. At the last moment the Porte had forgotten its promises to the British Ambassador, and consented to the Russian Ambassador's scheme. As a matter of fact, it would have been difficult for the Porte to resist. The Hatichérif of 1830 had established

that the members of the Council could not be dismissed until it was proved that they were guilty of malpractice. The Porte brought up this fact to justify itself before the British Ambassador, who could at that moment only advise Milosh to remain quiet and patiently await a future discussion of the question, when there might be more likelihood of success. But Milosh was unable to wait for this indefinite future; the Constitution compelled him to appoint the most distinguished men in the land—*i.e.*, his enemies—as his Councillors, and with such a Council government for Milosh was impossible. In order, therefore, to rid himself of the Constitution, he made preparations for a military revolt; but his plans fell through, and he was obliged to abdicate his princely dignity on the 13th of June, 1839. He then proceeded to his estate in Wallachia. Three days before his abdication Milosh had signed the 'Constitution of the Central Government of the Servian Principality,' by which the Council usurped the princely power. This Constitution bound the Prince to choose his Ministers from the Council, and to fill the vacant seats by individuals approved by the same. Thus a regular oligarchy was established in Servia. Milosh was succeeded by his eldest son, Milan Obrenovitch II. (the 13th of June to the 9th of July, 1839). He reigned for barely three weeks; he was taken dangerously ill, and died without even knowing that he was Prince of Servia.

He was succeeded by Milosh's second son, Michel Obrenovitch III. (1839-1842). The Porte issued a Berat, but did not on this occasion pronounce the princely dignity hereditary; moreover, it thrust two Councillors upon him. They were Vutchitch and Petronyevitch, who had been the chief agitators against Milosh. Michel refused to accept them for his Councillors, and there ensued a struggle between the Prince on the one side and Vutchitch and Petronyevitch on the other. The latter were finally compelled to leave Servia and to seek the protection of the Porte. At last, by the intervention of Russia and the Porte, the dispute was concluded in favour of the Prince. But in September, 1842, Vutchitch excited a fraction of the people to rebel, and the Prince, perplexed by this unexpected attack, left the country. Vutchitch, who called himself 'leader of the nation,' took the government into his own hands, and on the 2nd to the 14th of September, 1842, convoked a National Parliament, which elected Alexander Karageorgevitch to be Prince of Servia. He was the son of Karageorges, who had led the first rebellion against the Turks in 1804. The Porte looked upon all this with satisfaction. It had promised its support to Vutchitch before he incited the revolt, and it now ratified the election of the new

Prince. But Russia sent in a protest, declaring the election illegal, and that Prince Alexander had ascended the throne by revolutionary means. She demanded that a fresh election should take place, even were its result to be again in favour of Alexander Karageorgevitch; the latter had not been mixed up in the party disputes, and Russia had nothing against him personally. After prolonged negotiations and international intrigues Russia obtained the annulment of Alexander Karageorgevitch's election; but at the election of the 15th of June, 1843, he was chosen once more.

Alexander Karageorgevitch had been elected to guard the Constitution, hence he had to submit to the tutelage of the oligarchy, especially of Vutchitch and Petronyevitch, who had started the anti-Obrenovitch movement, with the Porte's sanction. The reasons for his maintenance on the throne were: his respect for the Constitution; the support given him by Austria and the Porte, who had assisted him in taking possession of the princedom; they would eventually also defend him from the intrigues of the Obrenovitches. The policy of Servia now suddenly took a different course: Russian influence was excluded, for Alexander could not forget that Russia had demanded his rejection. During his reign Servia witnessed two great European crises—the Revolution of 1848 and the Crimean War.

The Turkish invasion of the Balkan Peninsula had caused crowds of Servians to emigrate to Austria, where they were assisted and settled in Southern Hungary, to serve as a rampart against the Turks. Austria even granted them important privileges which guaranteed their national and religious liberty—*i.e.*, a Voivode was to represent the nation, and the Church was to have its own Patriarch. These privileges, however, remained mere written promises. The Court of Vienna has always sacrificed the Servians to the Hungarians and to the Catholic Church. In 1840 the Hungarians started on a great scale to Magyarize and destroy the Servian tongue, and this naturally separated the Servians and Croats. In 1848, when the Revolution broke out, the Croatian Ban Yelatchitch issued a proclamation announcing Crotia's separation from Hungary; and on the 13th of May the Servian Assembly at Karlovits proclaimed Metropolitan Rayatchitch the Patriarch, and Colonel Stephen Shuplikats the Voivode of the Servians in Hungary. The boundaries of the Voivodina (dukedom) were at once determined, and it was pronounced an autonomous region under the Crown of St. Stephen and the rule of the House of Austria. But the Imperial Court looked upon all this with disapproval, and refused to sanction the

decision of the Karlovits Assembly. The Austrian army even came into conflict with the Servians. However, when it was found at Vienna that the demands of the Hungarians (whom the Revolution has also reached) were exaggerated, the Servians were granted their Voivode and their Patriarch. Thus the Servians now came into conflict with the Hungarians. Francis Joseph I. had promised to provide the Voivodina or dukedom with an interior organization as soon as peace was restored. The National Servian movement had assumed a new form; in fact, it had become a dynastical movement. 'For Emperor and Nationality, for Emperor and Freedom,' became the Servian motto.

The Principality had taken an active part in the work of the Karlovits Assembly, and in all the phases of the Hungarian Revolution. The Servian Government did nothing to hinder the departure of Servian volunteers to aid their brethren across the Save and Danube. It was a popular movement; moreover, it benefited Austria (since it soon turned to her profit), and Alexandre Karageorgevitch always counted a good deal on Austrian favour. Servia's protector — Russia — likewise approved of the movement directed against the Hungarian Revolution. The Porte, on the other hand, looked on with more or less indifference. Its principal desire was that the frontiers should not be disturbed. In 1848 the Servians had many successes over the Hungarians, but in 1849 Austria gradually succeeded in transferring the commands of the Servian corps to her own officers. Defeat followed defeat, and the victories of the Hungarians on the entire line finally compelled Kaiser Francis Joseph to ask the assistance of Russia. After the Hungarian defeat at Vilagosh (1849) the Revolution was brought to a close; but the Servian dukedom remained a mere name. By his decree of the 18th of November, 1849, the Emperor had promised that the relations between the Empire and the Voivodina should be exactly determined; yet the boundaries were not fixed, nor was a Constitution granted or a Voivode named (Stephen Shuplikats had died in December, 1848), and all Francis Joseph's promises resulted in his adding the title of 'Grand Voivode of the Servian Dukedom' to his numerous other titles.

The interference of the Servians in the neighbouring monarchy's affairs was of great significance to Alexander Karageorgevitch: it caused him to become very intimate with the Court of Vienna; and his Court being the weaker, it naturally resulted in his falling under Austrian influence. This fact became a powerful weapon in the hands of his enemies. A much more important period of the Prince's foreign policy was the Crimean War. The Porte was Servia's

suzerain, and Russia was her protectress. War between these two placed Servia in an awkward dilemma, each party considering that it had an indisputable right to her adhesion. The question was, Would Servia prove unfaithful to the Porte or ungrateful to Russia? Her neutrality appeared impossible. The difficulty of Servia's position was further increased by the unusual intricacy of the entire political situation in Europe. To the occupation of the Roumanian Principalities by the Russian troops in June, 1853, Austria retorted by concentrating her forces on the northern Servian frontier, under the pretext of preventing a Russian invasion of that province. Meanwhile the conviction had spread throughout Servia that Austria intended to occupy the land, and that under one excuse or another she would remain thereon. Public opinion was exasperated against Austria and warmly disposed towards Russia, while the Porte was almost forgotten.

On the horns of a dilemma, and unaware as yet against whom it would engage in war, the Servian Government began to make preparations. Austria replied by prohibiting the export of war material into Servia (towards the close of 1853). In the midst of these difficulties the Porte's delegate arrived in Servia, bringing the following Firman from the Sultan: 'Je déclare publiquement et d'une manière précise, d'être fermement décidé à maintenir sur l'ancien pied les privilèges établis dans ma province de Serbie.'

This Act was due to the British Ambassador. When war was declared between Russia and the Porte in October, 1853, Stratford de Redcliff had advised the Porte to issue a document such as would reassure Servia with regard to the privileges guaranteed by former treaties between the now belligerent Powers. Meanwhile danger was increasing for Servia from Austrian quarters. Austria was playing the dual rôle she had already adopted towards the Western Powers. A Servian Councillor, Alxa Yovanovitch, was despatched to Vienna to reassure the Viennese Government concerning the military preparations in Servia, but he was unable to ascertain Austria's real designs. On the other hand, Austria's Consul in Belgrade, T. Radossavlyevitch, was constantly coming into collision with the Servian Government. On this account John Marincovitch was sent to Paris and London to petition the French and British Governments to prevent the eventual occupation of Servia. Great Britain and France were equally anxious to sever the Servians from Russia, and to compromise them in the eyes of Austria, whom they could in this way draw into their Alliance. Here was a convenient opportunity. In order to justify herself to the Porte, Servia despatched a special Memorandum to Constantinople, explaining that her war preparations had been

undertaken because of Austria's undefined intentions towards Servia and the Porte. The Porte communicated the contents of this document to the French and British Ambassadors, who, on their part, conveyed them to their Austrian colleague; for they were aware that Austria already looked upon the Servians as Russia's allies.

The Austrian Government designedly published this Act so as to disclose the insult that had been offered her, and the Servian Government found itself in very hard straits. But Austria could not follow up her advantage: shortly after the Memorandum's publication Great Britain and France altered their tactics, and counselled her to withhold from the occupation of Servia. John Marincovitch was advised, both in Paris and in London, that the Servian Government should satisfy Austria, and give her no further cause for protest. Accordingly, all military exercise was discontinued in Servia, and a letter was despatched to the Viennese Cabinet justifying the contents of the Memorandum by the plea that it had been necessary to dispel the Porte's suspicions regarding the Servian war preparations. The Russian evacuation of the Roumanian provinces and the localization of the war in the Crimea averted the storm from Servia, and Article 28 of the Treaty of Paris (1856) placed her, with her privileges, under the joint guarantee of the signatories. Thus Russia lost her exclusive right to the protectorship of Servia. 'Le droit de garnison de la Sublime Porte tel qu'il se trouvait stipulé par les règlements antérieurs était maintenu par le traité de Paris (Article 29), mais avec une restriction importante: "aucune intervention armée ne pourra avoir lieu en Serbie sans un accord préalable entre les Hautes Puissances contractantes."' This clause also concerned the Porte, for whom the Servian towns thus lost much of their military importance. At the Treaty of Paris Servia undoubtedly made a great step towards her political emancipation.

In his home policy the Prince frequently came into collision with his Council. These disputes compromised him as well as the oligarchy in the eyes of the people, for they led to the Porte's interference in the interior affairs of the land, thus humbling Prince and country. In May, 1858, the oligarchy definitely triumphed over the Prince. By the pressure of the Porte's Commissioner, Ehtem-Pasha, a law was promulgated relative to the constitution of the Council, and it deprived the Prince of the little authority he possessed. This rendered the situation absurd: Vutchitch and Garachanin, the Prince's worst enemies, became his direct organs—his Ministers. In such circumstances the Prince's fall was inevitable: Vutchitch and Garachanin agreed to depose him. The former's ultimate designs were not clear; but the latter aimed at himself taking

the place of Alexander Karageorgevitch. The task of dethroning the Prince was assigned to the National Skupchtina (Parliament), which had not assembled since 1848. After much reluctance, the Porte consented to have the Skupchtina convoked, for the Constitution of 1838 had not foreseen such convocation. The Skupchtina assembled on the 12th of December, 1858, and on the 23rd of the same month Alexander Karageorgevitch was deposed. But the plans of Vutchitch and Garachanin had fallen through. The same Parliament at once declared itself in favour of Milosh Obrenovitch, who had abdicated in 1839. This was a *coup de foudre* for the men conspiring against A. Karageorgevitch, and it must be registered as marking the commencement of political life in Servia. It was the work of the National Party, eager to put an end to the strife between the high State officials.

So far there had been no political parties in Servia; there had only existed the Prince's following and the faction of State dignitaries, who, supported by foreign influence, limited the Prince's authority, not for the sake of the nation's sovereignty, but in their own interests. Servia's entire political system acted within the narrow limits assigned by the Constitution of 1838, which had granted to the Council administrative and political authority. The dignity of the Skupchtina rose in 1858. Among other decisions, a resolution was carried that the Skupchtina should assemble regularly, and that the elections be free.

These events in Servia caused the Porte much uneasiness, but, after carefully weighing the circumstances, it found it best, in the face of Russia's and France's approval, to ratify Milosh's election. Austria was likewise unpleasantly affected by the change, but she dared undertake nothing for fear of France and Russia. Milosh's second reign lasted until September, 1860. He was succeeded by his son Michel, who had been exiled in 1842. When Michel ascended the throne he did not follow, any more than had his father, the Liberal current which had restored the Obrenovitches. On the contrary, he leaned for support on the united fragments of the old faction, which now took the name of Moderate or Conservative. The Liberal principles proclaimed in 1858 were abandoned. Notwithstanding Michel's opposition to the Liberal aims of the new generation, he energetically adopted its ideas for the deliverance and union of all Servians. The new generation had grown up in the golden days of the principles of nationality, when the union of Italy and of Germany was accomplished, and, imbued with Panslavism, the youth of Servia unanimously demanded war with Turkey. These dispositions were counterbalanced by the recalcitrance of the Porte, which steadily refused the most

lawful Servian demands—*i.e.*, the Turks' departure from the towns where they had remained contrary to the Sultan's Hatichérif; the restitution of the hereditary dignity of princedom bestowed by the Sultan on the Obrenovitches in 1830. The Porte considered that the heritage had been forfeited by past disturbances, and required the Constitution of 1838 to be literally carried out, although it did not satisfy the national necessities. The rupture of the feudal bonds with Turkey was inevitable. Already in the first year of his reign Prince Michel had sent the State Councillor John Marincovitch to ascertain how far, in a conflict with the Porte, Servia might count on the assistance of the French and Russian Governments (between whom there was a rapprochement since the Treaty of Paris). Prince Michel's idea was the solution of the Eastern Question by the Eastern nations. Seeing the critical position, moral and material, in which Turkey was placed just then, Prince Michel did not doubt the triumph of the Balkan Christian nations. The most important thing for him in such a contest was to avoid foreign intervention, and especially the intervention of Austria and of England.

In March, 1861, John Marincovitch was assured, both in Paris and in St. Petersburg, that France and Russia would uphold the policy of non-interference, and that there had already been an understanding to that effect between the two Governments. Thus, confident of the support of these Powers, Michel began his reforms. In August, 1861, he published a *law concerning the National Skupchtina* and a *law on the Constitution of the State Council*. Without directly interfering with the Constitution of 1838, these laws abolished its most painful regulations. A law concerning the *Constitution of the National Army* established the military organization on a secure basis, and, in order to insure its perfection, a French officer, Hypolyte Mondin, was appointed War Minister (April, 1861).

The Porte's protests to the protecting Powers were of no avail, as both Russia and France turned a deaf ear. Having settled the constitutional, the military, and the armament questions, Prince Michel turned his attention to foreign policy. He endeavoured to form ties with the Balkan States and nationalities which had identical interests with Servia. At that moment an incident occurred which brought the Principality to the verge of war with the Porte, and which characterizes the Turks' exasperation against Prince Michel. In June, 1862, profiting by an insignificant encounter between the Servians and the Turks, Ashir Pasha, the Governor of Belgrade fortress, bombarded the town. This barbarous act aroused great anger in Servia, and called forth the indignation of the European Press. Prince Michel petitioned the protecting

Powers to exact the final departure of the Turks from Servia, and began to prepare for war. War or peace seemed to depend on the decision of the Powers, who were conferring on the matter in Constantinople. Russia and France warmly supported the Servian demands at the Conference, while Great Britain and Austria sided with the Porte. At last a *via media* was chosen : it was decided that the Turks should evacuate the towns, and that the forts of Ujitse and Soko should be destroyed ; but Turkish garrisons were to remain in the forts of Shabats, Belgrade, Smederevo, and Fetislam. In October, 1862, the Sultan sent a special firman, informing Prince Michel of the result of the Constantinople Conference ; and Sir Henry Bulwer, the British Ambassador at the Porte, came in person to Belgrade in order to obtain the Prince's acquiescence in the Powers' decision. The Prince was in favour of war, but, on the representations of his Ministers that the army was not yet qualified for such an undertaking, he was persuaded to accept the firman. Henceforward the crisis was deferred from year to year. Prince Michel's policy suffered a severe blow by the changes which occurred in the relations between France and Russia (owing to the Polish insurrection which broke out in the beginning of 1863). He had thus far been able to count on their joint assistance. Austria and Great Britain drew nearer to France, and a fresh coalition against Russia seemed imminent. Prince Michel therefore endeavoured to win the sympathy of the British Government and of British public opinion. For that purpose Princess Julia went to London in 1863, accompained by the State Councillor, Philip Christitch. But with his Turcophil tendencies, Lord Palmerston was Prince Michel's greatest opponent, and he looked upon him as a Russian provocative agent in the Balkan Peninsula. Palmerston's words, conveyed to Prince Michel by his Councillor, were not one whit less virulent than the attacks directed against the Prince of Servia in the *Morning Post* (*e.g.*, see *Morning Post*, the 3rd of June, 1863). Philip Christitch was more successful in his endeavours to win over a few Members of Parliament, and to arouse public attention by means of pamphlets and newspaper articles. The result was a memorable sitting in the House of Commons on the 29th of May, 1863, and an occasion for Gregory and the great Cobden to display their eloquence. But that was all ; the Liberal Cabinet did not alter its policy towards Servia and the Christians in Turkey. Not till 1866 did circumstances in Europe become more favourable to Servia. Thanks to the Cretan rising (August, 1866), Prince Michel was able to obtain a satisfactory solution from the Porte of the problem of the fort's evacuation. Lord Derby's Cabinet was not as unbending with regard to Turkey

as Palmerston's and Russell's had been, and Beust was directing Austria's policy in a manner more favourable to the Christians under Moslem rule. Great Britain and Austria, who had hitherto sided with the Porte in the question of the evacuation of the forts, now counselled it to yield. The British Ambassador in Constantinople even presented a formula for the cession of the forts, and in March, 1867, the Sultan *confided them to the care of* Prince Michel. Servia was now definitely rid of the Turks. This concession of the Porte, Great Britain, and Austria was intended to satisfy Servia and dissipate her hostile plans with regard to Turkey. But it was not sufficient to content the Prince. At this time his prestige had risen considerably; he was the centre of Christian agitation in the Balkans. In January, 1867, the Servian Government had signed a treaty at Bucarest with the Bulgarian Committee concerning the establishment of a Bulgarian State and its union with Servia. In September of the same year an alliance was formed with Greece, and the foundation was laid of an *entente* with Roumania. In 1866 Servia had already contracted an alliance with Montenegro. The ultimate object of all these treaties was joint action against Turkey. Bosnia, Herzegovina, Albania, and Macedonia were swarming with Servian agents, and Prince Michel only awaited a conflagration in Europe which would divert the attention of France and Austria from the Balkan Peninsula.

After the Luxemburg affair between Prussia and France, Napoleon III. drew nearer to Austria. The latter had been driven out of Italy and excluded from the German Confederacy, and now hoped to find compensation in the Balkans. In consequence of the Austro-French intrigues, Prince Michel suffered in his relations with Montenegro in 1867, though Prince Nicolas soon returned to the right track. The friendship between France and Austria—both of whom would be backed by Great Britain in the Eastern Question—exercised considerable pressure on Servian politics towards the close of 1867 and in the beginning of 1868. In December, 1867, the representatives of these Powers severely reproved the Prince for his warlike preparations, and Russia, who patronized his policy, could not promise her intervention in such circumstances; she counselled patient and perfect readiness (February, 1868). But the sudden death of Prince Michel put an end to all his plans. He was assassinated while taking a walk in the woods of Topchider, near Belgrade. His death caused deep sorrow to the entire Servian nation, and to-day he is still looked upon as the noblest champion of Servia's best ideals. The international significance of Servia in the past century was never greater than it was under his reign.

Prince Michel left no children, so the Great National Skupchtina proclaimed his grand-nephew, Milan Obrenovitch, Prince of Servia; but as he was still a minor, a regency was appointed. In August, 1872, Milan took the reins of government into his own hands. The regency had settled two important questions with the Porte: first, it secured a Berat for Milan, by which the Porte acknowledged the succession of the princely dignity in the Obrenovitch family; and, secondly, it succeeded in substituting a new Constitution (Ustav) for that of 1838, without eliciting a protest from the Porte (1869). These successes, however, must not be overrated; they were of mere formal significance, for the Ustav of 1838 had been practically abolished by Prince Michel, and the Porte could no longer effectively dispute the succession of the princedom. Ever since the Turks' departure from the forts the Porte had thought advisable to refuse nothing to Servia which she would, in any case, secure for herself.

In July, 1875, on insurrection broke out in Herzegovina, and in a few weeks this spread throughout Bosnia. The insurgents issued a manifesto, wherein they protested with eloquence against the abuses of Turkish administration. The object of the insurrection was to secure the autonomy of these two provinces, which could then be united to Servia and Montenegro.

Meanwhile the Great Powers had undertaken to settle the Bosno-Herzegovinan question. There were prolonged negotiations, which were directed by the personal interests of each Great Power. Great Britain, Austria, and Russia played the most important parts. Great Britain protected the Porte, while Austria meditated an occupation of the provinces in question. Russia alone was sincere, and worked on behalf of the insurgents. During the course of these negotiations the people of Servia and Montenegro eagerly watched the struggles of their brethren in the agitated regions, and demanded that war be declared on the Porte in order to secure their deliverance. Under such pressure, Prince Milan was compelled to yield, although he had been opposed to war. In May, 1876, he confided the formation of a Cabinet to John Ristitch, who represented the warlike current in Servia. The new Government at once entered into relations with Montenegro, and an alliance was concluded on the 16th of June. On the 30th of June Servia had already declared war on the Porte, and on the 2nd of July Montenegro followed suit. The sympathies of the entire civilized world were given to these small States making war on Turkey in order to free their brethren. From Russia 3,000 volunteers came to Servia, and among them there were about 600 officers.

Servia and Montenegro had relied on the Bulgars rising at their summons, and had anticipated that Roumania and Greece would soon join. But in this they were mistaken. The Bulgars remained quiet; Roumania declared that she had no interest in the Balkans; and Greece excused herself on the plea that she was no longer bound by the treaty contracted with Prince Michel (1867), now no longer on the throne. Thus Servia and Montenegro had to sustain the attacks of an empire which, although not inexhaustible, possessed, nevertheless, overpowering forces when compared with such tiny States.

The struggle, which had been offensive, now took the defensive, and the Servians finally lost Zayetchar and Kniajevats. Persuaded by the Powers, the Porte consented to a brief truce (September, 1876). But peace could not be made. The Russian General Tchernyayeff, who commanded the chief Servian army at Alexinats, was of opinion that he could once more successfully take the offensive. On the 28th of September the struggle was resumed with marked success; the Turks were driven from their positions. But these brilliant victories could not long be continued. The Turkish army was constantly getting reinforcements. According to the information of the British military attaché, Major Sir Arthur Campbell, the Ottoman forces had been considerably augmented, and in August they amounted to 78,000 men. Realizing the danger that threatened his chief position, Prince Milan solicited the aid of the Tsar. At that moment Alexander II. was in Livadia; a considerable army was in readiness in the South of Russia, as war seemed inevitable owing to the strong pressure of the Panslavists. By order of the Tsar, General Ignatieff, the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, presented an ultimatum to the Porte on the 30th of October, and hostilities were at once suspended on the Servian frontier. A two months' truce was signed. At the suggestion of the British Government a Conference was now opened in Constantinople by the interested Powers.

Lord Beaconsfield wished a programme to be drawn up of extensive reforms for Turkey, and thus to avert the conflict between Russia and the Porte. But in June, 1877, the Conference broke up with nothing accomplished, as the Porte refused to accept the programme. During the Conference, and by its intervention, the truce with Servia had been prolonged until the 1st of March, 1877, when peace was signed, resulting in the *status quo ante bellum*.

Meanwhile the war between Russia and the Porte could no longer be averted. The diplomatic manœuvres which filled the period from January to April, 1877, had been fruitless, and on the 24th of April Tsar Alexander II. declared war on

the Porte. From that moment there were constant negotiations between Servia and Russia concerning the former's renewed action. At first Russia was almost indifferent to Servia's co-operation, but after the fierce resistance she met at Plevna Alexander II. demanded that Servia should at once join her. He even fixed the period within which Servia should enter into hostilities with the Porte, unless she wished her future compromised. On the 13th of December Servia went to war with the Porte, and directed her attacks according to the Russian plan of operations—*i.e.*, towards Pirot and Sofia, so as to facilitate the passage of the Russian troops over the Balkans. Thus they advanced towards Constantinople.

Austria, who meditated an occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, requested Servia not to cross the Drina. Pirot, Nish, and Vranya were seized by the Servians. The Peace of San Stefano concluded the war. In order to extend the frontiers of 'Greater Bulgaria,' Russia unduly chipped off parts of the Servian conquests. Bosnia and Herzegovina were granted their autonomy. The Treaty of San Stefano was revised at the Congress of Berlin. Russia had withdrawn from her Pirot and Vranya, in order to give them to Bulgaria, giving Servia Novi-Bazar and Mitrovitsa by way of compensation. Austria objected to this, because it would enable Servia to draw nearer to Montenegro. Servia was at last compelled (by the attitude of the Russians themselves) to come to an explanation with Austria. She agreed to safeguard Austrian 'railway and commercial pretensions' by a special convention, and in return Austria assisted Servia to preserve Pirot and Vranya. Bosnia and Herzegovina, for which Servia and Montenegro had made war, were assigned to Austria by the Congress of Berlin. Bismarck made Austria definitely direct her policy towards the Balkans in order to secure through her the influence of Germany in the East. This *Drang Nach Osten* actually exercises the greatest pressure on the Servian race. By the Congress of Berlin Servia's independence was recognized, and thus were terminated her victories over the Turks, which had begun by the insurrection of 1804. The entire process of Servia's political emancipation was painful and difficult. It was accomplished chiefly by the energy and the blood of the Servian nation.

[NOTE.—The recent history from 1877-1909 is to be found in Chapter XXIV.]

CHAPTER III

THE HEAD OF THE STATE*

BY DR. DINITCH

Late Physician and Private Secretary to H.M. the King

WHEN in 1885 Prince Alexander Karageorgevitch, formerly reigning Prince of Servia, died at Temesvar, his elder son, Peter, was no longer a young man. He had behind him a rather exciting life, which had made him known, and even rendered him popular.

After having completed his military studies in France, he took part, in 1870-1871, in the Franco-German War, where he distinguished himself, and was decorated with the Legion of Honour. His schoolfellows, the whole of the Puebla class of St. Cyr, and his companions in the war, saw in him an officer of merit, and, above all, a courageous and decided man. His chiefs, the best-known French Generals, mentioned him as an example of exactitude and energy. These qualities which distinguished him when he was twenty-five could only increase with time in the struggle which he undertook for the independence of his country.

In 1877 began the great national movement in the whole of the Balkan Peninsula, but especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The young Prince Peter, at the first news of the revolutionary movement, placed at the disposal of his people his knowledge and experience acquired in the West. He asked of his father, at the risk of compromising his inheritance, the means for organizing and arming some hundreds of Bosnian

* The Royal Family consists of four Princes and one Princess. These are H.R.H. the Crown Prince George, born in Cettinje the 27th of August, 1887; H.R.H. Prince Alexander, born in Cettinje the 4th of December, 1888; H.R.H. Princess Helene, born at Fiume the 24th of October, 1884; the brother of His Majesty, H.R.H. Prince Arsene Karageorgevitch, born the 4th of April, 1859; and his son, H.H. Prince Paul, born in 1893, at St. Petersburg. The succession to the throne passes to the first-born son in legitimate marriage in direct descent. If there be no son or direct descendant, the succession passes to the eldest member of the male lateral line. The King and the Crown Prince attain their majority at eighteen years completed.

rebels. At the head of this little army he carried on for many months a desperate war against the Turks, and finally succeeded in raising the whole country in revolt.

In Servia alarm soon began to be felt at the popularity of the son of the Pretender. Men were sent to assassinate him, but the two attempts made failed, thanks to the coolness of the young revolutionary chief.

As a reply to all the measures taken against him, Prince Peter addressed a letter to King Milan, ruler of Servia, promising to put himself and his little army at the service of Servia and of its chief during the war for independence which was about to begin. Prince Peter promised at the same time to undertake nothing against the reigning dynasty as long as the war lasted. King Milan did not deign to reply to this patriotic letter, which, if it had produced the desired effect, would without doubt have given quite a different turn to the Serbo-Turk War.

The courageous participation in the Franco-German War, the resistance which he made for months to the Turkish troops, that patriotic letter by which he placed the interests of his country above those of his dynasty—all this necessarily increased the political importance of the young Prince. And so it happened that when, in 1883, he married the daughter of the Prince of Montenegro, he was generally regarded and congratulated as the future King of Servia. Not that this marriage was necessary to increase the prestige of his family name, the name of Karageorgevitch which he bore being one of the most glorious in later Servian history. But the Servian people always desired a serious *rapprochement* established between the two independent branches of the Servian race, Servia and Montenegro—a *rapprochement* which King Milan would not hear spoken of. Prince Peter, on the contrary, was at the head of this national desire, a fact which procured him much sympathy on all sides.

After the death of his father, Prince Peter Karageorgevitch became the redoubtable Pretender to the throne of Servia—redoubtable not because of the activity which he displayed to become King of Servia, but for the connections which he entertained and the sympathies which he enjoyed. For when in Servia matters began to go very badly under the reign of the two last Obrenovitchs, the name of Peter Karageorgevitch filled with hope all those who, in the policy of King Milan and of his son, saw the cause of the approaching decay of Servia. In receiving, after the attempt against King Milan, the correspondent of a great European newspaper, Prince Peter denied energetically the report accrediting him with participation in the affair. 'I have no need to employ such means,' he

declared; 'I have only to wait. Milan and his son are my surest agents, and I count a great deal on them.' And he was not mistaken. Scarcely four years later the most faithful partisans of the Obrenovitchs turned, after the death of King Milan, against his son, and executed the terrible drama of the 11th of June, 1903.

On arriving on Servian soil, the first words which King Peter pronounced were that he wished to 'forget' and 'forgive,' and demanded that all should be forgotten and pardoned. These two words had for Servia, in a century of terrible dynastic struggles, a historical importance. King Peter wished to break with the tradition which exacted from the new dynasty the persecution—the extermination even—of the adherents of the old.

After that unexpected declaration, those of the partisans of Obrenovitch who, on account of their desperate hostility against the Karageorgevitchs, trembled before the return of Peter, calmed themselves, and recognized without further parley the accomplished change. It was the more easy for them to accommodate themselves to the new state of things because King Peter followed these first words by a series of acts which showed that he had taken seriously the engagements which he had made on his arrival. Not only were none of the partisans of the old dynasty persecuted, but they all kept their respective positions. When some friends and relations of the Obrenovitchs wished to organize a demonstrative requiem on the anniversary of the day of the death of Alexander and Draga, and the police tried to prevent them, King Peter ordered that they should be left alone. He permitted also the sale of the photographs and pictures of members of the former dynasty. Finally, King Peter opposed the project of changing the names of the principal streets of Belgrade, which are still called 'King Milan Street,' 'King Alexander Street,' and even 'Queen Draga Street.' On the occasion of his first tour in Servia, King Peter arrived in a village in the department of Kragujevats, where a peasant, accosted by him, thought to give him pleasure by cursing the Obrenovitchs. The King blamed him paternally for his hard expressions, telling him that the Obrenovitchs also deserved well of Servia, and that one ought not to fail to recognize these merits. They had, like all men, their faults, but it was not just to deny, on account of these faults, the real services which they had rendered to their country. King Peter had royally pardoned!

It was much more difficult for him to secure among the citizens themselves, on bad terms with each other because of prolonged party struggles, the same spirit of forgiveness for

the insults and injustices of which they were mutually guilty toward each other. Political struggles had assumed in Servia during the last years of the Obrenovitch reigns a very bitter character. On the pretence that the division of the people into political parties was a great misfortune for the country, the Kings affected to govern exclusively with neutral Cabinets. In reality they were siding openly with a small political group against all the others, and persecutions resulted from it. The prisons were full, and a great number of influential persons were obliged to emigrate. That struggle had embittered the character of the people, and from political grounds had been transferred to personal relations. The violent temperament of the Servian people showed itself in endless hatreds, of which all the political and social relations felt the effect.

This state of things naturally alarmed King Peter, who saw there a serious danger for the peaceful development of the country. He took on himself the duty of attempting to calm the masses and to reconcile political adversaries. It must be confessed that all the influential men of the different parties aided him sincerely in the realization of this task. Declaring openly on several occasions that he wished to be the King of no party, but of all the country, and that all political parties were equally dear to him, he adopted the principle, until then unknown in Servia, of a ruler outside of and above the struggle of parties. During the stay of the King at Krushevats, a peasant, penetrated with the ideas of the former régime on political parties, approached him, and said to him that he must try to forbid the division of the people into parties, these being a great misfortune for Servia. 'Political parties exist and must exist,' replied the King to him, 'and you can be freely Radicals, Liberals, Progressives, anything you like. That is not the essential. It is in the fact that, while belonging to different parties, you are nevertheless Servians, and sons of the same country. Try to remember always our noble proverb: "My brother is dear to me of whatever religion he is. Don't forget that you are Servians to whatever party you belong."' In a village at Rudnik he even went so far as to glorify the Opposition. 'The Opposition is as dear to me as the Government party,' said he. 'Its task is to exercise a serious control over the acts of the Government, and without this control Governments would often go wrong.' This way of speaking and acting on the part of the new King necessarily struck the people forcefully, and they began to breathe freely. Persecutions were thenceforth done away with, and the principal cause of the great hatred which dominated the adherents of the different parties in their mutual relations disappeared. The King had no preference for any one party, and all could hope

to come into power as soon as they had obtained the necessary majority. The bases of a constitutional and parliamentary régime were laid. 'I give my word as a King,' said he, on the occasion of his first speech in the Chamber, 'that I will be the most faithful guardian of the Constitution and of the parliamentary régime.' Three years later some adversaries of the new régime spread the report that the King intended to abolish the Constitution. This report produced a disagreeable effect all over the country, and the King felt himself obliged to deny it energetically. The Chamber having assembled, the King gave a dinner to the deputies. During the dinner he made a speech which was much remarked upon. 'On returning home,' said he, 'explain to my dear people that King Peter has only one word, and he gave that word on his arrival in Servia. King Peter is, and will remain, the faithful guardian of the Constitution and of the parliamentary régime.' King Peter has kept his word, and he has been an exemplary constitutional monarch. The result of this has been that all the intrigues which were formed round the Court necessarily came to an end, for the conviction was acquired that it is only through the confidence of the people that one can attain to power. Political strife is doubtless still very lively to-day, but it is concentrated in Parliament, leaving the Dynasty and the Court completely free.

Naturally Servia is not yet England, and a great deal of patience and energy will be necessary to raise the masses and render them capable of fulfilling the task which has devolved on them under the new régime. King Peter is of opinion that this preparation of the masses for liberty should be done by and through liberty. In a village near Lozanitsa an old peasant was complaining to the King that there was too much liberty and that the people were not ripe for it. 'But it is only by liberty that they can prepare themselves to enjoy it completely,' replied the King to him. 'How can you expect them through slavery to become accustomed to liberty?' Words worthy of the admirer and translator of J. S. Mill! To raise the people, that is the great task which King Peter has placed before himself, and to which he has dedicated his life—to raise it politically doubtless, but to raise it also, and above all, morally and economically. Servia had remained for centuries oppressed by a barbarous people, and it is not astonishing that she should be behind other countries which were able to develop themselves freely. What is astonishing is to see Servian Governments of the old régime paying so little attention to the instruction of the masses, or for their preparation for a more rational life.

In travelling through Servia, King Peter, who has passed his

life in very advanced countries and who has observed, was often struck with the people's irrational manner of living, and he was indefatigable in giving advice. 'Try to raise and strengthen the morals of the people,' he said to the priests assembled around him at Kragujevats. 'Religion without morality is not perfect, is not a religion. Try, above all, to strengthen family life, which is the basis of our existence.' Turning towards the schoolmasters, who were also present, he told them not to confine themselves to being the masters of the children, but to employ themselves above all in raising and instructing the masses of the people. 'Our people has a great deal to learn,' he said, 'and it is for you, who live among them, who know their needs and their faults, to teach them how they should live in order to develop rationally and to become capable of dealing with the historic task which has devolved upon them.'

All these speeches showed to the masses of the people, who had hitherto only known Kings by the curses which they uttered against the Opposition or against the majority of the country, by the *coups d'état* which they affected, and by the persecutions which they had organized, that the monarch had also another duty—that of attending to the material and moral well-being of the people. The police even, whom the people felt to be an intolerable burden, since they did nothing but treat them roughly when they did not persecute them directly, appeared to them under another aspect. In fact, King Peter declared at once that he would not allow the police to influence in any manner the political opinions of the people. 'The time when you had to *make* the municipal and parliamentary elections,' he said to the Prefects and Under-Prefects assembled at Nish, 'has definitely passed. You must know neither Radicals nor Liberals nor Progressives; for you all citizens must be equal. I shall be implacable against the least fault which you commit in this respect.' The Prefects were surprised, as for thirty years they had been asked to treat such and such a party roughly and so *make* the elections. At Shabats also he impressed on the Prefects that they should do their best in order that the security of the country, necessarily disturbed by the crises which Servia had undergone under the old régime, should be completely re-established. 'Try,' added he then, 'that the people may not consider you only as men whose sole duty it is to come and take from them for taxes their field or their oxen. Be, before and above all, their advisers in all matters which interest them. Show them that you can be useful, and not only terrible.'

It was, above all, the economic side which interested King Peter on his arrival. Very soon after having mounted the

throne of Servia, he received the Central Committee of the Servian Agricultural Societies. 'The present Constitution,' he said on that occasion, 'forming a sufficient and solid political basis for the development of the country, I think of devoting myself with my Governments to its economic progress.' In his speeches to the Chamber, and afterwards in his travels in Servia, he dwelt continually on the importance of an economic development, which had been so long neglected. 'Only an economically strong Servia will be in a condition to approach the solution of its great national problem,' he said at Kniajevats. Work on the material improvement of Servia forms to-day the principal feature of the programme of nearly all political parties.

Criticism is easy, but art is difficult, it has been said. Government is, above all, an art—based on scientific principles, if you like, but still an art. Criticism of this art is even easier than theatrical or literary criticism. Everyone considers himself competent to criticize such or such a manner of governing. It is quite natural that King Peter's mode of governing should be subject to criticism, like all else. And criticism is not wanting within the country as well as outside. But leaving on one side the details of his policy, and considering only its general features, one must recognize that the régime inaugurated by King Peter means for Servia a great progress compared with the régime of his predecessors. There exists, despite the great dissensions of parties, a solid system, which permits of an uninterrupted and consecutive work. Servia has ceased to be a country of surprises, and the Constitution and the parliamentary régime form a sure basis for future internal development. Rumours of all kinds are spread as to the present position of the Dynasty—rumours absolutely devoid of all foundation.

A striking proof that King Peter feels himself secure in Servia is found in the fact that the country supports, without shocks and without serious crises, the economic war with Austria-Hungary. Quite a revolution is taking place in the economic relations of Servia—a revolution which no one would have dared to think of under the former régime, so dangerous did it appear. To-day that revolution pursues its course without any of the unpleasant effects which it was feared would arise from the closing of the frontier. There were no cries of revolt, not the least sign of a movement directed against the Government or the Dynasty, in spite of the great commercial disturbances. The Dynasty of Karageorgevitch is solidly established at Belgrade, and faces with courage the difficulties, of which the very idea frightened its predecessors. King Peter feels himself strong in the confidence of the people. An attempt was

made in the foreign Press to render King Peter personally responsible for the economic war. It was the result, according to certain journals of the Austrophobe tendencies, of the new monarch. This way of representing things is absolutely false. King Peter has denied it himself energetically in the following words: 'I am neither Austrophil nor Russophil,' said he. 'Being a Servian King, I only think of carrying out a purely Servian policy.' As in internal policy there is no preference for any party, in external policy he does not allow himself to be led away by personal sentiments. He would have been indeed very badly advised if at the moment when Parliament, in agreement with the whole country, demanded that the exaggerated demands of Vienna should be refused, he had allowed himself to be carried away by his personal views and sentiments, and had sought at any price an agreement with the neighbouring monarchy. The strength of King Peter consists in his resolution to remain consistent.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONSTITUTION AND CONSTITUTIONALISM

By HIS EXCELLENCY DR. MILOVANOVITCH*

Minister for Foreign Affairs

THE commencement of constitutionalism in Servia dates from the commencement of its existence as an independent State. The war was still raging, not only on all the frontiers of the Pashalik of Belgrade, between the Servian insurgents and the armies which the Pashas of the neighbouring Pashaliks had raised and led against them by the order of the Sultan, but also in the interior of the Pashalik of Belgrade around those fortresses still occupied by Turkish garrisons, when the Servians convoked assemblies and organized a Council of State in their mountain retreats and in hidden monasteries at Borko, Voliavtcha, and Vogovadia. Face to face with the enemy while the decision still hung in the balance, Karageorges was the supreme chief, and everybody submitted to his orders, which were enforced by a ready and accurate pistol. But it was only necessary that an armistice or a pause should take place in the war—it was still too early to think of a permanent peace—for the Council of State to make its voice heard as the supreme and sovereign authority of the country, and for it to demand, and that successfully, the obedience of this authoritative leader. What exactly was this Council of State in the Servia of Karageorges at the time of the first rising, from October, 1805, when it was first organized, to the *débâcle* of the year 1813? History tells us that the Council of State was instituted, and that the first councillors were elected, by the National Assembly convoked at Borko. At first sight it would thus seem justifiable to conclude that the Council was the elected of the Skupchtina (the National Assembly), which itself was the elected of the nation. Another conclusion, equally logical, which would result from this, and which would be too well founded to be doubted if one admitted the first conclusion, would be that the Servian people, animated by

* Dr. Milovan Milovanovitch was the author of the present Servian Constitution.

a democratic spirit and by a wish for autonomy, did not wish to recognize any absolute power over it, and that while scarcely free from the foreign yoke, it took into its hands the exercise of sovereign powers, thus confirming the principle that it was the people which was the beginning and the end of all organized power in the State. But this phenomenon by itself appears strange, not to say unique, in a people who had lost all traces of their ancient State life during four centuries of bondage under a foreign domination, and that had even lost all education to such an extent that the art of reading and writing had almost disappeared. The explanation has been given that the autonomous country communes which had not been interfered with by the Turks had formed during these centuries an excellent preparatory school for a constitutional democratic Government, of which the Commune is in some respects the embryo. Thus, according to this theory, the Turks, without wishing it, in spite of themselves even, had made of feudal medieval Servia—which they had turned into a cemetery, had ravaged and enslaved, where they had suffocated all germs of State and education—a country in which the representative Servian system was able even at the dawn of the revolutionary 19th century to organize itself on a par with those of England and of France.

But if we examine the question more seriously, and without democratic bias, we recognize at once that the true reason for the creation of the Servian Council of State in 1805, and the true character of this institution, are something quite different, quite far removed from every form of representative democratic government, without any connection either with the autonomy of the Communes, or anything in general with the customs or the democratic aspirations of the people. In my opinion we must seek the real origin of the Council of State of 1805 in this fact: that the Servian insurrection of 1804 had not, and could not have, any one supreme leader who was universally recognized. Under the Turkish domination all the State traditions had been wiped out, and Servian society reduced to one level. There was not a single name, not a single family, which by its merits and by its authority stood higher than others whose prestige had a universal and national character. The national life had been reduced to such simple and rudimentary actions that all the conditions made it absolutely impossible for any single person or family to attain, by its merits, a universal national reputation. Servian society at the period of the first rising was at about that level at which human communities stand which are only commencing to develop new State systems. And the first State systems are not ordinarily—nor can they be—absolute monarchies; his-

tory furnishes us with sufficient proof of this. Karageorges was chosen as leader by his intimate military companions who constituted his immediate entourage; but at the same time, either for those same reasons which had caused the first shots of the revolt to be fired in Shumadiya, or because of those shots, the Servian people in other portions of the Pashalik of Belgrade sprang to arms, and chose as their leaders brave and notable men selected from their own district. The military talent of Karageorges and the *éclat* of his first successes raised him above all the other leaders, and gave him the position of supreme chief of the rising. But this supreme command, based upon the desire and the arrangements of the other leaders, had an exclusively military character. In all that concerned the administration of the country the leaders of the different districts, the Voivodes, regarded it as their incontestable right both to govern their districts and to take an equal share with Karageorges himself in the direction of the general affairs of the State. They admitted for Karageorges nothing more than the place of first among peers. It is thus that the Council of State was created, which in 1811, when its organization was completely finished, had as members all the principal Voivodes, and as President Karageorges.

The first Servian Council of State at the period of the first Servian rising had a very significant fundamental nature, which for one thing shows the social and political state of Servia, and for another throws light on many actions in the history of the country. This first Servian State Council, in its spirit, in the cause and need which brought it into being, as well as in the task which it had to accomplish, was not a limitation of the power of the Sovereign, either for the benefit of the nation or of a privileged class in the State. It was, on the contrary, the sovereign power itself, in whose composition the supreme leader of the rising only took direct part as first member and President. The Servia of Karageorges, with such a Council of State, resembles less a monarchy than a kind of oligarchic republic. Its formation, the form and the principle of its government, resemble more closely the republic of Venice than an absolute monarchy, or a representative monarchy of the English type. From this fundamental characteristic depends another, which finds its expression in a most certain accentuated form, not only in the composition of this first State Council, but also, as we shall see later, in the Council of State created by the more recent Servian Constitutions. This characteristic is the principle of regional and departmental particularism dominating it. It dominates it to such a degree that we might almost call this Council the representation of the union of the departments, almost to the

same extent that the Senate of the United States of America is representative of the union of the States. In organizing itself as the supreme power of the country, the Servian oligarchy preserved in its organization the base which had created it, and which gave it its force. The departments, or 'Nahaye,' as they were called under the Turkish domination, limited ordinarily to their own territories the reputation and the authorities of their different insurrectionary leaders and other important persons. There were few of these who had partisans beyond the limits of their own department. It was only later that the great military exploits, the personal heroism, and the brilliant victories against the Turks, spread abroad the glory of some heroes throughout Servia and all Servian countries, and made them national. The first to receive this universal glory was Karageorges. The first manifestation and organization of the Council of State in the new Servian nation, at that moment at the height of its struggle for existence, were not—and we must insist upon this—an expression of a national democracy which would not permit the absolute power of the Sovereign. They had, on the contrary, their cause and their real origin in the lack of the necessary conditions for the formation of a State administration at once uniform and central. The Council of State is not the representative of the people, limiting the powers of the Sovereign, but the representative of an oligarchy and of departmental particularism, which oppose themselves successfully against the monarchic principle and against the principle of the unity of the State. It is possible to find similar and numerous examples in the past of many peoples, especially of peoples of Slav origin.

Karageorges, as already mentioned, accepted and recognized the principle of oligarchic government, contenting himself with occupying the first place, the most noticeable position—that is to say, the Presidency of the Council of State. Karageorges, the supreme leader of the Servian people, did not exist in 1811, even in form, as an independent factor in the administration of the Servian State. He entered into the composition of the Council of State as its first member and President by the same right as the Vice-President and the other members, who were at the same time the Ministers of different administrations of the State. In such a State organization the supreme leader, Karageorges, was neither above nor beside the Council of State—he was in the Council, and formed an integral part of it. Thus, during the duration of the first rising, from 1804 to 1813, especially towards the end—from 1811 to 1813—there did not exist in Servia any kind of a monarchy in the strict sense of the word, either absolute or constitutional.

After 1815, from the beginning of the second Servian rising

under Prince Milosh Obrenovitch, the struggle between the leader of the insurgents, Prince Milosh, and the same oligarchic elements began again. Milosh possessed to a much higher degree than his great predecessor the qualities and temperament necessary for this struggle. He did not choose his means, nor did he show either respect or scruple. Alternately, according to the need of the moment or the arrival of a favourable opportunity, he won over the people by demagogic promises, or bought the alliance and support of the Pashas of Belgrade. If there was no other means of removing or triumphing over a rival, Milosh did not hesitate to resort to assassination. The earliest and most notable rivals and adversaries of Milosh disappeared one after the other; many attempts at revolutions were suppressed, and the Hatichérifs of the Sultan recognized Milosh as Prince of Servia, with the hereditary right in his family. Notwithstanding all this, Milosh himself had finally to submit to the Council of State, again victoriously organized by the oligarchy. By the same Hatichérif of 1830, in which the Court recognized the autonomous rights of Servia by virtue of the Treaty of Adrianople, and gave to Milosh the title of hereditary Prince of Servia, it was laid down that the Servian Government should be carried on by an Assembly composed of the leading men of the country, who should form the Council of State, and act in common and in accord with the Prince. Another clause of the same Hatichérif runs as follows: 'Insofar and for so long as the members of the Council shall not be guilty of grave crime, either against the Sublime Porte or against the laws and institutions of the country, they can be neither dismissed nor deprived of their functions.' This was not exactly a return to the open oligarchic government of the Council, as in the time of Karageorges, but it was nevertheless the manifest echo of it, and the first step towards its resurrection. After the Hatichérif of 1830 it was still more difficult for Milosh to maintain the system of personal absolute government which had already come into strong opposition with the powerful oligarchic element. The Hatichérif of the Sultan gave a solid legal base to the desires and pretensions of the oligarchy, which strengthened its belief in itself, and gave it the right to make appeal in its own interests to the Suzerain Court of Constantinople and to the Russian protector at St. Petersburg. After the insurrection of Melita (January, 1835), Milosh recognized the futility of further resistance, and the necessity of renouncing his absolutist habits and of organizing the State in harmony with the conditions of the Hatichérif. There only remained for him the choice of two solutions—either to replace his absolutism by a democratic and representative Government, or to abandon himself into

the hands of the oligarchy. The political instinct of Milosh, assisted by the wise counsel of his devoted secretary, Dimitrie Davidovitch, led him to adopt the first alternative, and on the 3rd of February, 1835, the National Skupchtina, specially convoked for this purpose, voted the Constitution known under the name of 'the Constitution of Sretegne,' organizing the first representative and constitutional system of Servia.

The following is a short résumé of the principal points of this Constitution: The hereditary Prince of Servia and the Council of State shared the sovereign power in the State, the executive power as well as the legislative. All the Ministers, to the number of six, were chosen from the Council of State, and as Ministers they remained members of the Council. The number of State Councillors was not otherwise limited. The projects of law were prepared by the Ministers, each preparing those dealing with his department, and were submitted by them for the approbation of the Council of State. The Council of State deliberated and decided on these projects of law, which it had a right to approve, to reject, or to modify. Those projects which had received the approval of the Council, and in the form in which they have been approved, were presented for the sanction of the Prince. The Prince had the right of veto, but only of limited veto. If the Council of State submitted for the third time a project of law for the sanction of the Prince, with an argument showing that the project was not contrary to the Constitution nor prejudicial to the country, the Prince was bound to sanction it. As far as regarded the executive power and the State administration, the rights of the Council of State were quite as extensive as in the legislative power. On this point it is necessary to remember, before everything, that the Cabinet formed an integral part of the Council of State, that all the Ministers chosen were from among the Councillors, and that Ministers dismissed by the Prince continued to form part of the Council as permanent life members, whose permanence was established and guaranteed by an international document—the Hatichérif of 1830. In the same spirit as these fundamental conditions, which in themselves clearly determin the character and importance of the Council of State, other clauses of the Constitution placed all the State officials under the direct authority of the Council. The officials were appointed on the proposition of the Council, and the Council also possessed over them the direct right of punishment. Up to this point everything was in complete harmony with the spirit and the ideas of the Hatichérif of 1830. If the Constitution of Sretegne had stopped there, it would have given full satisfaction to the oligarchic element by restoring, on the authority of the Hatichérif, all that had been organized in

Servia under Karageorges. But the Constitution of Sretegne introduced a third institution—the National Skupchtina—besides the Prince and the Council of State. There had been national Skupchtinas in Servia before the Constitution of Sretegne, both in the time of Karageorges and in the period between 1815 to 1830; but the national Skupchtinas were not periodic, and they were not elected according to a fixed system laid down in advance; they were convoked hurriedly when there was imperative need, or when it was desired to obtain something through them. Further, those who took part in them were not elected representatives of the people, but an indefinite number of notable men who were able to exercise authority in their districts either by their position, their fortune, or other reasons. The Constitution of Sretegne, on the contrary, organized a National Skupchtina composed of 100 members, who were elected by the people according to fixed legal forms. This Skupchtina met every year on the 23rd of April. It possessed rights and duties defined by the Constitution. It is true that these were not yet very extensive, but they touched the most important and essential questions of the life of the nation, and gave to the Skupchtina and to those who elect it the necessary facilities to gradually enlarge their rights to those limits within which they are exercised on the English model in the modern Parliaments of the constitutional States of Europe. The Constitution especially guaranteed to the National Skupchtina, in the most complete degree, the budgetary power, which is, in theory as in practice, the foundation upon which rests the authority of national representation, and which furnishes it with the most certain weapon against all usurpation and against all attack on its rights and on the rights of the people. Besides these guarantees, Article 90 of the Constitution gave to the National Skupchtina the right of making representations to the Prince and to the Council of State, of addressing requests to them for the repeal of certain laws, of calling their attention to abuses, of complaining to the Prince against the Council of State, if the members of this Council or any other authority attacked the Constitution or injured the rights of the Servian citizens. The guarantee that due and serious attention should be paid to the representations and requests, as well as to the complaints, of the National Skupchtina, lay in the budgetary power which is so clearly and so absolutely established in this Constitution.

The National Skupchtina, after the Constitution of Sretegne, formed the centre of the new State organization. It possessed at the same time the object of serving as a support to the Council of State against all arbitrary attempts on the part of the Prince, and of support to the Prince against the attempts

by the Council to usurp the power, and to put the interests of the bureaucracy and of the oligarchy beyond and above the interests of the State. After the Constitution of Sretegne, the Prince and the Council continued to direct the affairs of the State, to give the laws to the country, and to apply them. Save in the question of finance, the National Skupchtina was deprived of any active rôle. The authors of the Constitution of Sretegne thought rightly that the elected representatives of the Servian people would not be competent as yet to make laws suitable for the State, nor to exercise upon the internal or external policy of the country a control and direct action such as were demanded by the interests of Servia. It was for this reason that in this respect they left the National Skupchtina on one side. One would be mistaken, however, to imagine in this a desire to lessen the importance of the Skupchtina, and to grant it only a secondary place in the State organization. As has already been shown, it was destined to perform the rôle of judge between the Prince and the Council of State—a rôle which, both by the Hatichérif of 1830 as well as that of 1838, the suzerain of Constantinople had reserved to himself, and thanks to which he maintained his authority over Servia, interfering in the internal affairs of the country. Further, the active rights of the Skupchtina in financial matters constituted the real point of departure from which, given the regular working of its new constitutional institution, Servia should progress and develop gradually into a representative Parliamentary State in the true sense of the word.

Although the system of the Constitution of 1835 was very wisely adapted, both to the internal circumstances of Servia and to its international situation, it was impossible to keep it in force for a long period. Both Prince Milosh, whose ideas and customs could not be reconciled with any principles whatever of constitutional government, and the Council of State, which felt that the new Constitution limited it quite as much as it did the Prince, and who understood that it could not continue long to exist between the Prince and the National Skupchtina, at once assumed a hostile attitude towards it, and sought impatiently for a favourable occasion to dispense with it. This opportunity came so quickly, before the new Constitution had been put into practical execution, that in reality it was never in force.

At the time of the Constitution of Sretegne the ideas of the Holy Alliance still dominated those parts of Europe where the preponderating influences were those of Austria and Russia. Prince Metternich must have been shaken with horror when he saw the ideas of the French Revolution being transplanted to the Balkan Peninsula, in the immediate neighbourhood of

the Hapsburg monarchy, in a new national State only beginning to exist, and of which the mere existence, without these revolutionary ideas, was the cause of endless thought and pessimistic presentiment for the Austrian Chancellor. Austria protested at once against the new Servian Constitution. Russia joined in this protest, having no great sympathy for constitutional institutions, and also Turkey, who justly considered the new organization of the Servian State as being contrary to her interests. Prince Milosh and the Council of State, seizing the opportunity, showed themselves on this occasion most eager to welcome foreign intervention and to yield to it. On the 17th of March, 1835, the Constitution was suspended, and the Ministers were deprived of the power given to them in virtue of the Constitution.

After the suppression of the Constitution of Sretegne, Prince Milosh and those notables who wished for the re-establishment of the oligarchic government of the Council found themselves in direct opposition. The position of the Prince had become less favourable from two points of view: on the one hand, his demagogic deceptions had alienated the people, and he could not appeal to them for common action to combat the oligarchic tendencies which sought to organize themselves in the Council of State; on the other hand, the Powers whose intervention had brought about the suppression of the Constitution worked, as was to be imagined, from the interest which prompted them, in favour of the Council, not in favour of the Prince. For the Council of State of Servia, by its composition and by its ideas, had nothing in common with that democracy detested by the Powers in question, besides which each of them—Turkey the suzerain, Russia the protector, and Austria the neighbour—was rightly convinced that the Council would have less power of resistance to their desires, and that under the oligarchic government of the Council Servia would present a power of expansion of much smaller importance in the field of national politics.

The Hatichérif of the 10th of December, 1838, which the Sublime Porte imposed upon Servia in agreement with Russia and with the approval of Austria, to serve as fundamental law, gave to the country an oligarchic Government in the widest sense of this term. The Hatichérif confirmed Milosh as the hereditary Prince of Servia. But side by side with the Prince it established the Council of State, composed of seventeen members, chosen from among the leaders and most prominent Servians. In the Council of State was concentrated both the legislative and executive powers, because it was this Council which made the laws approving the Budget, which created the State services, which appointed the officials, and held them

under its direct control. It was also from the Councillors of State that the Ministers were chosen, so that the Cabinet itself was an integral part of the Council of State, a sort of special committee of the Council. The members of the Council of State were quite independent of the Prince, but, to counterbalance this, their independence upon the Sublime Porte was clearly indicated.

When taking up their duties on their nomination, they took the following oath : To do nothing contrary to the interests of the people, to their duties, to their conscience, or to the imperial wishes of the Sultan. The Councillors could only be removed from their positions with the consent of the Court, which in this way relegated to itself the right of deciding conflicts between the Prince and the Council of State—that is to say, the State administration in Servia was placed under its direct control. Between a Prince possessing an individuality even slightly pronounced and a Council of State such as this organized by the Hatichérif of 1838 disputes were bound to arise, and each of these disputes had to be taken to Constantinople for settlement ! As was naturally to be expected, the decision of the Porte, acting in conformity with the Turkish interests, inclined towards the Council of State, and maintained its rights, its pretensions, and its ambitions, to the detriment of the Prince's authority.

Milosh was bound to early fall a victim of the new constitutional state of affairs. His ideas and his habits, his pride, founded upon those services which he had rendered to the new Servian State in the course of its difficult development, revolted against the rôle which he was reduced to playing in his relations with the Council. Those leaders of the Servian oligarchy united in the Council of State well knew that Milosh would never willingly submit to the authority of the Council, but would make every effort to change the state of things imposed by the Turkish Constitution ; and they immediately decided to profit as much as possible by the situation, and to bring the struggle with Milosh to an end by making his position on the throne impossible. Isolated in this struggle, and having against him at home, not only the Council of State and its supporters, but all those whose hopes had been shattered by the suppression of the Constitution of 1835, and who felt that an affirmation of law and order were necessary in the country and abroad—the Porte, Russia, and Austria—Milosh was soon defeated. In June of the following year, 1839, Milosh abdicated in favour of his eldest son, Milan, who, however, died less than a month after his accession to the throne. Milan's successor was his younger brother, Michel, who, being still a minor, had a princely regency until the 5th of March, 1840, when he took

the government into his own hands. During the reign of Michel the struggle between the oligarchy of the Council and the Prince still continued, but with even less chance of success for the Prince than in the time of Milosh, for the simple reason that, while on the one side everything remained as before, on the other the experience and authority of Milosh was lacking in the young Prince. In the month of August, 1842, an outbreak took place under the leadership of a tribune of the people, the Voivode Thomas Butchitch, and only a few days later Prince Michel was forced to leave Servia, flying before the victorious troops of the insurgents. On the 2nd of September of the same year Alexander Karageorgevitch, the younger son of Karageorges, was elected the Prince of Servia. (The eldest son of Karageorges, Alexis, had died, leaving a son, a minor, named Georges.)

The government of Alexander Karageorgevitch, from 1842 to 1858, was a government of the oligarchy, represented by the Council of State. During the sixteen years of his regin the Constitution imposed upon Servia by the Turkish Hatichérif remained in full force and received its most complete application. This in itself implies that the rôle of the Prince in affairs of State was limited and secondary. The fact that later, in the course of years, the initiative and influence of the Prince were able, to a certain degree, to assert themselves was due merely to the fact that the leaders of the oligarchy were not unanimous, and that the Prince became amongst them a kind of intermediary or arbiter. The Porte profited by every occasion which offered itself to interfere in the affairs of Servia, welcoming gladly every complaint or representation which was made, both against the acts of the Prince and those of the Council, and showing every disposition to consider them, to order inquiries, and to demand explanations. On many occasions special envoys of the Sultan came to Belgrade with the rank of Commissioners. The autonomous rights of Servia under such conditions not only could not be extended, but suffered in many respects restrictions and diminution.

This was the cause of the unpopularity of the oligarchic government and of the national discontent, which increased without interruption year by year. Although under this régime the reign of law was strengthened in the country to such a degree that it was possible to include it among those modern States where law and order exist, and although real progress had been realized in the financial, agricultural, and educational affairs, and in civilization generally, the national sentiment was wounded, and rebelled against the weakness of the representatives of the State in defending the rights and in securing the dignity of the country, and in carrying out the

national mission against the encroachments of the Porte, which found support in the ideas of certain other Powers. This discontent ended by a popular revolution in 1858, which overthrew both the oligarchic government and Prince Alexander.

The National Skupchtina, known under the name of the Skupchtina of St. André, after having received the abdication of Prince Alexander, elected for the second time the old Prince Milosh to the princely throne of Servia, abolished the Constitution of 1838, and voted precipitately a law dealing with the National Skupchtina, which, even if it did not organize the representative government in the form of a constitutional and parliamentary monarchy, at least expressed the national opinion in favour of such a government. However, no notice was taken of this law, which remained deprived of all practical value. Prince Milosh hastened to meet public approval by suppressing the Constitution of 1838, and by removing the last trace of the oligarchic government of the Council of State, but beyond this did not show himself at all disposed to share the administration of public affairs with the people, or to recognize the Skupchtina as a constitutional force. His second reign, of short duration—since Milosh died on the 26th of September, 1860—was that of an absolute monarch. After his death, under the government of his son, Prince Michel Obrenovitch III., new constitutional laws were made in the month of August, 1861. While leaving to the Council of State the legislative power, the new laws reduced this institution to the rank of a central body of officials completely controlled by the Prince. They instituted the National Skupchtina, but with such limited powers that it may be said without hesitation that the political régime of Servia during the reign of Prince Michel was one of absolute power. Prince Michel was assassinated on the 10th of June, 1868.

The princely Regency which was charged with the affairs of the country during the minority of the nephew and heir of Michel, Milan Obrenovitch IV., hastened to give a Constitution to Servia, without taking into account the formal condition of the law of 1861, which forbade all modification of the form and organization of the governmental system during the minority of the Sovereign. This act of the Regency may be excused, because of the discontent of the people against the Government as organized by the law of 1861, and because of the difficulty which existed for a Regency in defending such a form of government, and even maintaining for it that form of order which was absolutely indispensable. Absolution might be given to the Regents for this first mistake of having created the new Constitution in an unconstitutional manner, if only this Constitution had fulfilled the needs of the State and given satisfaction to

the national cause. But, unfortunately, this was not the case. Servia found herself, in 1869, saddled with a bad Constitution, which not only did not meet the conditions of the period, but which, by its intentional lack of sincerity, by its contradictory dispositions, brought into the country an era of false and fictitious constitutionalism, which in many respects led Servia along a wrong road, and interrupted the regular development as well as the accomplishment of national duties.

Externally, the system of government established by the Constitution of 1869 represented the type of constitutional and parliamentary monarchy of the English model. The direct representatives of the supreme authority exercising this authority were the Prince and the National Skupchtina. The responsible Ministerial Cabinet existed between them as their common organ and as the expression of their common desire. This was appointed and dismissed by the Prince, but could only continue and act if supported by the confidence of the majority in the Skupchtina. Consequently, in principle, the executive and legislative power should be exercised in common and in concert by the Sovereign and by the national representatives—that is to say, by the Prince and by the Skupchtina. The Constitution of 1869, as well as the other Constitutions organizing parliamentary government, contains clauses which establish formally: that the Prince exercises the legislative power, together with the Skupchtina; that the Skupchtina, the national representative, is the expression of the wishes of all the Servian people; that the Skupchtina decides the State Budget each year; that at the head of the State Administration there is placed the Council of Ministers, whose members are appointed and dismissed by the Prince; that the Ministers are responsible to the Prince and to the Skupchtina; that every act of the Prince relative to affairs of State must be countersigned by the responsible Minister; and that the Skupchtina has the right to impeach Ministers and to call them to account for criminal responsibility. Further, Article III. of the Constitution gives to the Servian citizens in respect of their personal liberty one of the most essential guarantees of liberty and law. Nobody could be prosecuted nor condemned by a court other than that indicated by the law as competent.

But all these admirable parliamentary principles, the very spirit of a parliamentary system, were paralyzed in their practical application by other constitutional clauses which gave to the Sovereign the possibility of governing, with or without Parliament, as he judged fit. And in this way the Constitution of 1869, instead of serving as a point of departure for the establishment of a parliamentary régime—since it was judged inexpedient to organize this régime immediately in all its

branches, as had been attempted by the Constitution of 1835—only gave to the personal and absolutist system the possibility of using the parliamentary institutions as entrenchments, behind which they were able to indulge, freely and without responsibility, in all sorts of experiments.

Some of the most important clauses in the Constitution of 1869, which limited the practical value of the fundamental guarantee of the parliamentary system by depriving them of all obligatory force, also opened wide the door to those who wished to ignore them and formally tread them underfoot. In the first place, the composition of the National Skupchtina was so arranged that it was never the real expression of the national will, and that when the Sovereign wished to avail himself of his powers to the full, the Skupchtina and the national will had nothing in common. The Skupchtina was composed of two kinds of members : the first, three-quarters of the total number, were elected by the people ; the others were named by the Prince. It is well to remark, also, that while election by the people could not open the doors of the Skupchtina either to active or retired officials, or to lawyers—these at that time practically composed the educated class in Servia—the Prince could appoint as deputy any Servian without distinction who had attained the age of thirty, and who paid annually thirty francs of direct taxation. The members were elected by districts, and also in the chief towns of the departments. In the districts, whose members represented five-sixths of the total number of deputies elected by the people, the elections were indirect, through delegates. The vote was always public. No legal or constitutional guarantees were given relative to the election of delegates, which took place under the direct supervision of the Government, without any other control. The composition of the bureau for the election of the members was also completely in the hands of the administrative power. Once elected, the Skupchtina met at the time and at the place indicated by the Sovereign. The Constitution only laid down that the Skupchtina should be convoked in ordinary session each year, nothing more. There was no fixed minimum length for the ordinary session ; it might be closed the day after, or even the very day of its meeting. The closing of the sessions of the Skupchtina was not ruled by any conditions, neither by the completion of certain work nor by the voting of the Budget, nor even by the formality that the assembly should be regularly constituted, nor by anything else. The Prince could both prorogue and dissolve the Skupchtina without any limitation, or without regard to the work before the assembly, and he had the right to act thus as many times as he judged fit. Neither did the Constitution indicate a fixed spot where the Skupchtina

should be convoked; the Prince could convoke it where it pleased him. In fact, under the Constitution of 1869, the Skupchtina was convoked at Belgrade, at Kragujevats, and at Nish. It is true other Constitutions exist which define no formal limits to the power of convocation, of prorogation, and of dissolution of the national representation, or of pronouncing the sessions closed. But if a Constitution has a practical value, if it really is a limitation of the powers of the Sovereign, the national representation possesses additional powers, and the mere exercise of these implies a limitation of the rights of the Sovereign with regard to it. In the first place, the budgetary right of the national representation has as a direct and inevitable consequence the effective calling together each year of the national representation, and thus the possibility cannot be taken from it of controlling the acts of the Government, and of giving its judgment upon these acts and upon the Government in general.

According to the Constitution of 1869, the budgetary right itself of the Skupchtina did not constitute either a guarantee or a weapon enforcing respect for its constitutional position, or for its participation in State affairs. According to one article, the Budget of the former year could be declared applicable to the current year in all cases where the Government and the Skupchtina could not agree to the new Budget, or if the Skupchtina were dissolved before having voted the new Budget. The legislative power of the National Skupchtina was limited—in the first place by the fact that the members were deprived of all initiative in this respect, having neither the right of presenting projects of law, nor of taking over and presenting in their own name such projects as the Government, after having presented, wished for any reason to withdraw, irrespective of how far advanced the discussion might be, so long as they were not definitely voted. For the Government could always withdraw projects of law, and could always ask that they should be adopted in their entirety without amendment as presented by the Government, or else rejected by the Skupchtina. Nor was that all. Another article of the Constitution gave to the Sovereign the right of making laws himself having immediate obligatory force, and only needing to be submitted to the Skupchtina later in order to be approved. These powers were given in case the safety of the country, either external or internal, should be in grave peril when the Skupchtina was not sitting. In giving to the Sovereign such power, the Constitution did not define either what the dangers were before which the Sovereign could take into his own hands all the legislative power, nor for what object the laws thus exceptionally created could be applied. The Constitution gave no guarantee against

the abuse of this power, not even stipulating that the Sovereign should only make use of it in cases where the Skupchtina could not be called together. There was not even a provision that the Skupchtina should meet as soon as possible afterwards, in order to decide upon these laws and upon their future application. Finally, the personal liberty of the Servian citizens, and their constitutional rights as laid down by the clauses of the Constitution, could be suspended in virtue of an article which gave to the Government, in cases of imminent danger to public safety, the right of temporarily suspending the articles dealing with personal liberty and the inviolability of the home, the liberty of speech and of the Press, and even the article dealing with the power of the courts. There were no special limitations either as to the nature of the danger which could give to the Government this right of depriving Servian citizens of all legal protection, of liberty, of honour, and of life, nor how it was possible to determine for how long a duration or when 'a period' would end. The Constitution did not even give a guarantee that this state of things should cease immediately after the elections to the National Skupchtina, nor that this assembly, when called together, should pronounce upon such an action of the Government, and upon the continuation of the state of things created by this action. The series of courts-martial and states of siege which took place during the activity of this Constitution show to what an extent an unreasonable—even immoral and wicked—use was made of this right. Many statesmen, political men, and Servian patriots as distinguished for their talents as for the rectitude of their character fell victims to its injustice.

A Constitution such as that of 1869 could not even give a temporary solution to the constitutional question in Servia. The struggle for constitutionalism as against autocracy and the personal régime continued incessantly in the political life of the country. It was the most real and vital question, around which the political currents turned, and upon which the programmes of the political parties were formed. The Servian Radical party, which commenced to form in 1870, and which was completely organized in 1881, began an untiring constitutional campaign. It demanded, not the revision of the existing Constitution, but a new Constitution which should organize in Servia a real system of parliamentary government upon a broad democratic basis. This struggle continued with varying fortune till the 22nd of December, 1888, when Servia was endowed with a new Constitution. It began again later, when, in 1894, the new Constitution was suppressed and that of 1869 reinforced by the *coup d'état* of the 21st of May. With the accession to the throne of the King, Peter I., and the

proclamation of the Constitution of the 18th of June, 1903, which is a second edition of the Constitution of 1888, only modified in some of the less important clauses, the constitutional struggle has again closed in Servia, and this time, let us hope, for good.

In the interval between 1888 and 1903, following the *coup d'état* and the crises which occurred then, Servia received yet another Constitution, which, although it had only a short duration (being in force scarcely two years, and during this short time being once suspended by the *coup d'état* of the 7th of April, 1903), nevertheless deserves mention before proceeding to the constitutional system which is in force in Servia to-day. This Constitution of the 19th of April, 1901, was the last effort of the Radical party to come to an agreement with King Alexander. The leaders of the Radical party, in the hope of sparing Servia fresh crises, fresh agitations, and in order to give her the possibility of recovering and re-establishing her good name and credit in the world, after the terrible régime of 1897 to 1900, by a tranquil development on a solid constitutional base, decided to sacrifice many points of the constitutional programme for which they had struggled during so many years, and to give King Alexander all the guarantees which he considered as necessary for the safeguarding of the prestige and authority of the Crown against the attacks of the Radical party and its immense majority of more than five-sixths of the Servian nation. It is thus that the Constitution of 1901 was created, at the same time that the Radical party joined with the Progressive party in order to form a coalition Government in which one half the members were Radicals and the other half Progressives. The Radical leaders who had concluded this arrangement, and who had taken upon themselves its loyal working out, were fully conscious of all the difficulties with which they had to contend in order to induce their party and the Servian people to accept a Constitution which was considered as insufficient, and which created institutions, such as the Senate, without roots and without traditions, as well as to uphold a coalition Ministry in a Parliament where the enormous majority belonged to one party, and that the Radical party. Despite all this, the good-will and the firm resolution of the Radical leaders, who did not hesitate to bring into play all their authority and popularity acquired in the course of years, aided by Progressives whose perfect loyalty it was possible to rely upon, should have succeeded. But this difficult enterprise of the Radical leaders became a veritable labour of Sisyphus when King Alexander himself, who had been the cause of it all by the conditions which he had insisted upon in the Constitution, commenced

to attack it, hesitating at nothing to prevent its success, or to compromise those men who had gone even further than his desires. After various vicissitudes, the Radicals were finally removed from power in the month of November, 1902. Shortly afterwards a new *coup d'état* occurred, by which this Constitution, although due to the initiative of King Alexander himself, was suspended and disfigured in all its essential clauses. The catastrophe of the 15th of June, 1903, swept away both King Alexander and the Constitution, which, however, was not deserving that its memory should be identified with that of the last Obrenovitch.

Let us now return to the Constitution actually in force in Servia to-day. This Constitution gives to Servia representative and parliamentary government, based upon a wide democratic foundation, with all guarantees, both for the constitutional rights of the Servian citizens and for the establishment of national representation, and the success of its labours within the limits of its constitutional attributes. Those who did not know the constitutional history of Servia in the past might be astonished by many of the clauses of this Constitution, which appear superfluous or out of date. In its second portion, for example, which treats of the constitutional rights of the Servian citizens, these are not only guaranteed in principle—the public rights of private individuals, such as personal liberty, inviolability of the home, liberty of the Press, etc.—but there is set forth in detail, often including the minutest things, everything that the rights thus guaranteed have as consequences, and everything that they exclude and prohibit. But those who are in touch with all that has preceded the establishment of this Constitution in Servia in the realm of constitutionalism, and know even superficially the vicissitudes of the constitutional struggle which has continued in this country during long years, interrupted by revolutions and *coup d'état*, will understand that the constitutional clauses in question were introduced because of those abuses which it was necessary to render once and for all impossible, and against which it was necessary to expressly assure the constitutional guarantees. The authors of the Servian Constitution found themselves in this respect in much the same situation as the Parliament of England during the first centuries of the English constitutional régime. By their scope, by their object, and by their motive, the constitutional regulations recall the old English laws which guaranteed to the citizens their rights, and which forbade arbitrary acts by the authorities. It is due to this same motive that the Constitution contains numerous details dealing with the organization of the election of members for the Skupchtina, and with the conduct of the

electoral law. Under the Constitution of 1869 all possible pressure and abuses were called into play in order to falsify the national will. The Constitution of 1888, to rectify this, contained such complete and strict guarantees for the liberty of elections and the regulation of all electoral details, both before the elections and at the time of voting, that in this respect it was in advance of all the constitutional and electoral laws throughout the world.

One special characteristic of the Servian Constitution, from the point of view of the composition of the Skupchtina, is that the principle of proportional representation is more strongly expressed, and has received a wider application, than in any other modern Constitution. The members are elected by *scrutin de liste* by entire departments. The number of members varies from four to twelve in each department, according to the number of the inhabitants. Each list obtains a number of members proportionate to the numbers of votes which it has obtained. Another original characteristic of the Servian Constitution in this respect is that it specifies that in each department—and thus in each list of candidates—there must be two candidates who, besides the general conditions prescribed by the Constitution, fulfil the special condition of possessing a University degree or diploma of a high school ranking as a University. By this means the national representation is assured of a sufficient number of the educated classes fit to busy themselves with State affairs. The value of this precautionary measure is easy to understand when it is reflected that the national representation in Servia consists of a single Chamber, that its members are elected by almost universal suffrage (the voting right in Servia depends upon the payment of fifteen francs yearly in direct taxes), and, finally, that the peasants form nine-tenths of the population.

The rights and attributes of the National Skupchtina correspond in general to those rights and attributes granted to national representation by the best and most democratic of modern Constitutions in parliamentary States. The legislative power is exercised by the King and by the Skupchtina. The executive power is in the hands of a ministerial Cabinet, appointed and dismissed by the King, but which cannot retain its position if it does not enjoy the confidence of the Skupchtina, this assembly possessing all the necessary constitutional means for controlling the Cabinet, and for obliging it to resign as soon as it can no longer command confidence. Besides questions, interpolations, inquiries, the absolute arrangement of its business, and the right to impeach Ministers, the Skupchtina is able to use, either directly or indirectly, as an invincible weapon, its budgetary control,

which has received in the clauses governing it every necessary extension, and which is protected by all possible guarantees. The King holds the right of convoking the National Skupchtina in ordinary and extraordinary session, of closing and proroguing the session, and of dissolving the Skupchtina. But all these royal prerogatives are regulated or limited in their application in such a manner and to such a degree that they can never have the effect of calling in question the constitutional attributes of the Skupchtina, or of paralyzing its determining action upon the course of State affairs. Thus the Constitution formally ordains that the Skupchtina shall be convoked in ordinary session each year, in the capital, on the 10th of October, and only in case of war may it be convoked elsewhere. The ordinary session of the Skupchtina cannot be closed before the State Budget for the following year has been voted. The prorogation of the sittings of the Skupchtina, without its consent, cannot take place more than once in the course of a session, and for a period which may not exceed two months. The right of dissolving the Skupchtina is not, it is true, restricted, but this right of the Sovereign has also been limited by the constitutional regulations which deal with the budgetary control of the Skupchtina, and the power of dissolution cannot be abused. The constitutional regulation permitting the King to prolong the previous Budget only in the case where the Skupchtina is prorogued or dissolved, and only for the period of four months, has done away with all possibility of governing constitutionally without the Skupchtina, and of avoiding the collaboration of this assembly in State affairs and its control over the Government by abusing the right of prorogation and dissolution. There are also a certain number of constitutional regulations which are of practical value, either for the organization of parliamentary control and the exercise of the rights of the Skupchtina, or as a guarantee of the liberties of the citizens. It is thus that the Servian Constitution has given a complete guarantee of judicial independence and assured the irremovability of the judges in all the courts. The composition of the Cour des Comptes, which is the auxiliary of the Skupchtina in the exercise of its budgetary control, lies in the hands of the Skupchtina. Its President and all its members are elected by the Skupchtina from a list of candidates drawn up by the Council of State. The Council of State itself, which, besides being the highest administrative body, has also important political and administrative duties—being the body which exercises the supreme supervision over the carrying out of the various electoral functions, because it is the judge between the State authorities and the autonomous anthorities, and its

advice must be taken upon all projects of law which are to be presented to the Skupchtina—is placed in such close relationship with the Skupchtina that it appears in many ways as though it formed a constituent part of it. Its members are irremovable and independent in the same way as the judges, and are half elected by the Skupchtina from a list of candidates presented by the King, and half appointed by the King from a list of candidates drawn up by the Skupchtina.

Besides the regular Skupchtina, there exists the Great Skupchtina, which is only convoked in exceptional circumstances, and which really constitutes a popular referendum upon grave national questions. Such questions as the election of a King or Regent, the decision as to the succession, the discussion of modifications of the Constitution, and questions relating to the cession or exchange of territories, come within the competence of this assembly. It may also be called into being whenever the Sovereign may judge it necessary to consult it. The Great Skupchtina is formed of double the number of members of the ordinary assembly.

It is to be hoped that with the reintroduction in 1903 of the Constitution of 1888 the constitutional struggle in Servia has finally come to an end, and that the country will see no renewal of the shocks and of the constitutional crises which for so long have exhausted the vital force of the Servian people, and which have not permitted it to devote itself to the progress of moral and intellectual advancement, or to the economic development of the country, or to the national mission, either to the extent demanded by the interests of the country's future or in keeping with the capabilities of the nation. It is possible that this Constitution is a leap forward, immense and uncalculated, and that it would have been better to have advanced more gradually and less briskly; but what is done is done, and any step backward, decided upon from whatever motive, or carried out in whatever manner, would constitute to-day a very dangerous experiment, which would reawaken all the unfortunate memories of a recent past. If there is harshness in certain regulations of the Constitution, if they lack elasticity, if in their application there is produced friction, arresting and interfering with the working of the constitutional machinery, these are passing evils which will disappear with time, and for which time alone is the remedy. I think that even here, in this short sketch, it will not be out of place to finish by expressing my profound conviction that it would be a mistake which might be fatal to again open, under any pretext or with any object whatever, the constitutional question in Servia. I even go so far as to affirm without reserve that it is necessary, not only to abandon all idea of changing or

revising on a large scale the Constitution, but that it would be best to leave the Constitution absolutely as it is, with all that it may contain of gaps, forgotten things, and mistakes. The practical application of it, even without attempting constitutional revision, will complete it and mould it to the real needs of the country. And since the Servians, in common with other civilized peoples of the European continent, have adopted the English system of government, why should they not also borrow from the English their methods for the perfecting and modifying of constitutional institutions? The results of this method, considered both by themselves and in comparison with other methods tried by other States, will certainly not furnish us with any reason for avoiding it.

CHAPTER V

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION AND PRESENT ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNES

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So important a part has been played in the past by the communes, and this organization forms so very vital a part of the present national foundation, that it is of great interest to study the question a little closely. In this study it is possible to gain an insight into many characteristics of the Servian people, as shown by the various phases of communal life.

The existing organization of the communes in Servia has been accomplished according to the general directions contained in the Constitution of 1903, in a special law of the same date. There are in the Constitution only a few principles expressed. Autonomy is accorded to the communes; the franchise is guaranteed to all Servian citizens. Members of the commune fulfilling all the other legal conditions exacted from them pay to the State fifteen francs of direct taxes (inclusive of the additional permanent centimes for the benefit of the State). It is enacted that the municipal elections be direct, and it is finally decreed that a new commune can only be formed by permission of the legislative authorities. These principles are worked out in the above-mentioned law, which represents a sort of code containing all regulations concerning the communes. This law is not new. In the same way as in 1903, the Constitution of 1888 was put into force; so the law on the communes, carried on the 25th of November, 1889, under the régime of that Constitution, took effect at the same time as it. Later, on different occasions—the 22nd of December, 1903; the 3rd of December, 1904; and the 3rd of December, 1905—this law underwent numerous modifications, of which some have profoundly influenced its original character.

Under this law as it exists to-day, all the communes in Servia are divided into two classes—rural communes and urban communes. The enactments of the law are essentially the

same for the two classes, except some minor differences which apply to the commune of the town of Belgrade, and considerable differences in the system of elections for the Municipal Councils, by which a certain number of particularly named towns profit. In order to form a commune in either class, it is necessary that its territory be inhabited by at least 200 adult citizens. In exceptional circumstances this number may be less, having regard to local circumstances and to the relations between the different villages and towns; but these circumstances and these relations have not been defined with more precision or more clearness. In ordinary circumstances, every village of which the population does not reach the above-named number of adult citizens must be attached to a neighbouring village in order to form a commune with it. The law does not indicate what is the minimum number of inhabitants which is indispensable for the formation of an urban commune.

The creation of new communes can be effected either by the separation or by the junction of already existing communes, and this in three different ways: either two or several individual communes will combine and form a new commune; or villages will separate themselves from a commune, pass to another, and form with it a new commune; or villages will detach themselves from the commune to which they belong, and will establish a completely new and independent commune. The procedure in the three cases is the same. None of these modes of formation can be realized before the communes of the villages interested have expressed the wish to separate or to unite. This wish is expressed, for the communes, in a meeting at which all the citizens of the commune who are electors may be present and vote; for the villages, in a special meeting where the inhabitants of the village have alone the right of voting. The meeting comes to a decision, which is communicated to the Communal Tribunal, the first direct authority in each commune. Thence the decision is transmitted to the representative of the local administrative authority, which is entrusted in the name of the State with the control of the communes; then the said representative sends it to the Minister of the Interior, within a period which must not exceed five days. Finally, at the next session of the National Skupchtina the Minister will submit the decision in question to that assembly.

The communes in Servia have a double nature. They are, in the first place, local autonomous entities, which live their own life, with particular interests and special needs; as such they are independent, and possess the right of carrying on their internal affairs freely and as they please. Secondly, the communes are part of the State, fractions of a whole, and they

enter into the constitution of that body with the same needs, the same interests, and with common aims; as such they are placed under the permanent control of the organized power of the State. The Servian legislation has marked clearly this double nature of the communes; it has enumerated the rights which belong to them in their quality of autonomous bodies, and has traced the limits within which the functions of the bodies charged with the control in the name of the State should be exercised. Thus defined, the autonomous power and the authority of control exist parallel, without this dual existence fettering the course of the business of a commune. Being autonomous bodies, two or several communes can agree, and form a syndicate of communes. Such an association can only exist for a special purpose. The syndicate must always have a programme fixed in advance. It can only attend to matters which affect all the communes of which it is composed, and can only work to satisfy common needs.

Every Servian citizen must be a member of a commune—either of that in which he was born and where he resides in a permanent manner, or that in which he has reached his majority, if he has a dwelling there. In the same way, every citizen has the right of leaving the commune to which he belongs, and of moving to any other commune. No commune, however, is bound to accept a member coming from another commune—(1) if there exists a decision or a judgment of the competent authority which forbids him to stay in the territory of that commune; (2) if he is not in a condition to gain his living, and that of his family by work; (3) if he is not of good character and morals. The affairs of the commune are either, on the one hand, conducted by the inhabitants themselves directly, in meetings which bear the name of communal assemblies, and where the citizens themselves decide on questions which affect local interests; or, on the other hand, the population has transferred its right of decision for other matters to special bodies elected by themselves. These organs are the Municipal Council and the Communal Tribunal.

The legal definition of the communal assembly is 'meeting convoked and constituted by the inhabitants of a commune who enjoy electoral rights.' To be an elector by right, the citizen must fulfil the following conditions: (1) Be a Servian citizen; (2) be of age; (3) pay to the State at least fifteen francs direct taxes a year (including the additional permanent centimes for the benefit of the State); (5) be inscribed on the electoral lists. But there are persons who, although fulfilling all the conditions mentioned, are deprived of the right of voting for the communal assemblies. These include all officers and soldiers with the colours; special cases involving

the loss of the franchise, all enumerated in the law, the principal being sentences involving civil death, bankruptcy, etc. The communal assembly can meet at the desire of the inhabitants themselves. It is necessary that at least a quarter of the electors should express the wish in writing to the Communal Tribunal. The convokers are expected to indicate at the same time for what purpose they propose the convoking of the assembly, but in any case the deliberations of this assembly cannot have for their object a change of president, of deputies, of municipal councillors, or of their substitutes. It is not only the citizens who have the right to convoke communal assemblies ; this right belongs also to the Municipal Councils, to the State authorities, and to the Municipal Tribunals, in cases which are particularly provided for in the law. The communal assemblies have been instituted in order that the population may decide itself all the important questions of a purely local character, in connection with all the internal life of a commune, which is an autonomous entity. It is in these assemblies that the president of the Communal Tribunal, together with the deputies, the municipal councillors, and their substitutes, and all the representatives of the autonomous local authority, are elected. It is there also that all the important matters affecting the material interests of the inhabitants are discussed. In any case, additional centimes for communal needs cannot be imposed without a decision of the communal assembly. If it is a question of parting with communal property, of constructing a building for the commune, of carrying out an undertaking for the benefit of the commune, or if the commune wishes to contract a loan or to run into debt, the assembly must be summoned to authorize it, and a special meeting is necessary for each case.

Each commune in Servia must have a Municipal Council. The number of the councillors depends on the number of inhabitants. For 500 adult citizens there are 10 councillors. A commune which possesses more than 1,000 adult citizens possesses 20 councillors. As an exception, the Municipal Council of Belgrade is composed of 30 councillors. In each commune, besides the members of the council, there are substitutes, whose number is equal to half the number of councillors. The conditions which the citizens must fulfil to have the right of voting for the communal assembly are laid down both for the municipal councillors and their substitutes. They must, in addition, pay at Belgrade and in the capitals of the departments thirty francs of direct taxes, and in the other communes fifteen francs (including always the additional permanent centimes). Certain persons, enumerated in law, even if they fulfil the general conditions, can be neither municipal

councillors nor substitutes. This exclusion results either from the office which these persons fill in the service of the State or of the commune, or from the degree of relationship. Finally, purveyors and contractors in the service of the commune can in no case become municipal councillors. The functions of municipal councillor or of substitute are gratuitous and obligatory. The person elected must accept the mandate, and, having once begun his duties, he cannot abandon his post and resign. This rule, though unconditional, has some exceptions. The following are not obliged to accept their election : citizens who have passed the age of sixty years, those who are physically incapable or ill, those who are in the service of the State, etc. But all these reasons must be approved by the Municipal Council, which can refuse to accept them.

Municipal councillors and their substitutes hold meetings, which are public and are held in the Communal Tribunal under the presidency of the President of this tribunal. The regular working of the Municipal Council is assured by the obligation under which the municipal councillors rest to come to all the meetings, and to remain until all the business which is on the order of the day is finished. A municipal councillor who is prevented from being present at a meeting of the council is required to justify his absence. The reasons are considered by the Municipal Council itself, which, if it finds them insufficient, inflicts a fine on the councillor absenting himself for not having fulfilled his duty. (The fine is from two to five francs in the rural communes, from four to fifteen francs in the towns.) No resolution can be carried by the Municipal Council if two-thirds at least of the councillors are not present at the meeting. As an exception, in the commune of Belgrade and in the towns which, under the terms of the Constitution, have the right of electing each a deputy, if the above quorum has not been reached in a meeting, and if, in consequence, no resolution can be moved, the president of the Municipal Council is authorized to call another meeting, which can deliberate on all the adjourned questions, and validly decide them, provided that more than half the councillors are present at that meeting. The vote in the Municipal Council is always nominal, and, in order that a decision may be taken, it is necessary that one more than half of the councillors present should have voted for the motion. Every resolution carried on by a Municipal Council must be communicated in a copy to those departments of the State which are charged with the control of the communes.

Among the works lying in the jurisdiction of the Municipal Councils, and which are expressly enumerated by law, the most important are :

1. The discussion, the supervision, and the voting of the communal Budget.

2. Decisions on the subject of resignations presented by the president of the Municipal Tribunal, by the deputies, by the councillors, and by their substitutes.

3. To authorize or to refuse the purchase by the commune of landed property.

4. To choose the legal representatives who shall represent the commune before the tribunals, or who shall execute communal works of a special nature.

5. To choose for the commune persons provided with special knowledge—doctors, engineers, veterinary surgeons, midwives, etc.

A special provision of the law considerably extends the limits of the competence of the Municipal Councils. Not only do they deliberate on all matters relegated to them by virtue of the formal regulations of the law on the communes and other special laws, but they also make laws for all matters for which no law has specified the competence of the communal, tribunal, or of the assembly, and which should be carried out or resolved on by the commune. This means that everything is tacitly left to the deliberations of the Municipal Tribunal, for which the law has not specified the public body charged with attending to it. Whenever material interests of the commune requiring disbursements of money are affected, the competence of the Municipal Councils is confined within strict limits. Thus, if it be necessary for the benefit of a commune to erect a building or undertake work which involves expense, the Municipal Council can only undertake it under these conditions: (1) If the necessary expenses do not exceed 1,500 francs in a rural commune, 6,000 francs in an urban commune; (2) if the expenses within the limits of the above figures can be paid by the ordinary revenues of the commune—that is to say, without it being necessary to impose on the population of the commune additional centimes specially for that object. Also, no landed property belonging to the commune can be disposed of by the decision of the Municipal Council alone, if its value is above 200 francs in a rural commune, or 1,000 francs in an urban commune. The competence of the municipal commune is thus limited to these sums. For the commune of Belgrade there exists an exceptional law which authorizes its Municipal Council to dispose of, in the course of a year, personal and real property up to a total of 100,000 francs. But such a decision of the council is not final; it is necessary that the Council of State, the supreme court of control for the financial affairs of the communes, should give its assent.

A Municipal Council, whether entirely or partially—that is

to say, all of its members, or some of them only—can only be removed in two cases: if it refuse to fulfil the functions which are laid down for it by law, or if it acts contrary to the orders proceeding from the State. As soon as one of these two cases arises, the State authority charged with the direct control of the communes is bound to inform the Minister of the Interior. The latter refers the matter to the Council of State, and asks it to authorize the dissolution, either of the entire Municipal Council, or of a part of its members. This question being considered urgent, the Council of State discusses it at once, and gives a decision, positive or negative, which is carried into effect. When a Municipal Council has been dissolved in this manner, the election of a new council is proceeded with within a period of from five to ten days.

The name 'Communal Tribunal' is not exact. It is a body composed of the president of the Municipal Council, of two deputies, and a registrar, and possesses not only judicial power, but also administrative—or, more exactly, all the powers in the commune. The Communal Tribunal is, according to the definition of the law itself, 'the first direct authority in the commune'—that is to say, the authority of first instance, which is in close contact with the population. The following are the powers belonging to the Communal Tribunal: (1) Police power, for the maintenance of order and the security of the commune. In this respect the Communal Tribunal is only an agency of the police power of the State, which it aids in the exercise of its functions, whose orders it is expected to carry out, and whose instructions it must follow. (2) Autonomous power. This power is very extensive, for the Communal Tribunal (whether alone or whether in common with the Municipal Council) is charged with 'carrying out the business of the commune, safeguarding and upholding its interests, and working for the progress of the commune and of its members in all respects, principally from the point of view of education, economy, health, and morals.' In exercising this power the Communal Tribunal is the representative of peculiar interests, which it must satisfy in considering the commune as a unity, distinct and apart. (3) Administrative and executive power. This power consists in applying the laws and the enactments of the State authorities. (4) Judicial power, of which the limits are fixed by special laws. This power extends to civil matters (according to the provisions of the civil judicial procedure) and to criminal affairs for certain offences (according to the provisions of the criminal code and of the police regulations).

The functions of the Communal Tribunal are detailed in the law on communes, and thus is indicated the extent of the

powers enumerated above, of which this body is the centre. Thus, as the police power and as the executive power of the State, and also as a constituent part of the general central and local administration of the State, the Communal Tribunal is charged with a great number of matters of a very different nature. It attends to the cleanliness of places; to the safety of persons and property in the commune; to the maintenance of bridges, of roads, of the banks of streams and rivers; to preventing fires, and to the means of extinguishing them; to the health of persons and of animals; it inspects slaughter-houses, butchers' shops, inns, cafés, and hotels; it takes measures against immorality and debauchery. In all these functions the Communal Tribunal serves the general interests represented in the State, and it is placed under the control of the State authorities. At the same time, the Communal Tribunal has to satisfy purely local interests, which only concern the commune over the territory of which its authority extends. In this respect it constitutes a self-governing body, with special powers, and in principle it exercises its functions in an autonomous manner, except in cases where the control of the State has been especially provided for. Communal goods and revenues fall under its competence. As regards the communal property, the Communal Tribunal can neither diminish nor destroy this, but has as its principal duty, after having proceeded to its inventory and surveying, to have inscribed in the books all the landed property of the commune, within a period of three years from the day when the law on the communes came into force. Other functions have also been confided to the Communal Tribunal in the interests of the inhabitants. In agreement with the Municipal Council, it fixes the price of bread, and prescribes for inns the price of drinks, of food, and lodging. It watches over the trustees charged with administering the property of wards, etc.

Two kinds of State authorities exercise control over the communes. These are the supreme central authority and the direct or immediate authority. The supreme control of all the communes belongs to the Minister of the Interior, who exercises at the same time the immediate control over the commune of Belgrade, whereas for all the other communes the direct control is exercised over the communes of the principal places of the district by the Prefect, and over the communes of the districts by the Under-Prefect. It is only the purely judicial functions of the Communal Tribunals which are completely outside the control of the authority of the State.

The control of the State over the communes is exercised in two ways: firstly, none of the works falling under the

jurisdiction of the autonomous functions which belong to the communal authorities—and they are all works which affect the interests of larger entities, such as the districts and departments, or of the State itself as a general community—none of these works can be accomplished in an autonomous and fixed manner in the privacy of the meetings, councils, or tribunals of the communes. The executive power of the State must be informed of it, and they cannot be carried out without its sanction. Secondly, as soon as it is a question of the execution of a law, or of legal enactments founded on a law, the communal authority can only be the agency or auxiliary of the power of the State, and must execute under its control the legal conditions. In this case the private interests represented by the communal authority must give way to the general interest, which is represented by the State, and which has called forth the law or ordinance in question.

The law on the communes provides explicitly in certain cases how far the interference of the State in the affairs of the commune shall extend, and in what way its control over these affairs shall be exercised. Thus, whenever a communal meeting is held, the president of the Communal Tribunal is bound to inform the State authorities of it, so that its representatives may be present. These, however, have not a right to influence the work of the assembly. The State official delegated to the assembly can only dissolve it in case of disorder or riot, when the president cannot or will not establish order. In every case the president of the Municipal Tribunal is expected to communicate, within two days, to the authorities all the resolutions adopted by the assembly. Also, if the communal authority does not exercise its functions exactly and conformably to the enactments of the law, the State authorities shall first address remonstrances to it, while giving it the necessary instructions; then it will apply the measures of coercion which are provided in the law on the communes. Finally, if the president of the commune, or the deputies, will not fulfil the duties which the law imposes on them (especially if they do not show enough zeal, and do not take sufficient pains to assure the safety of persons and property), the authorities have the right to advise the Municipal Council to deprive the president and the deputies of their functions. If the Municipal Council refuses to do so, the matter is referred to the Council of State, which finally decides it.

The State authorities have the right to oppose the execution of every decision of a general character taken by the assembly, the Municipal Council, or the Tribunal of the commune, if it is shown that this decision is contrary to the law or to a legal enactment; but if it is a question of a decision which only

injures the rights or the interests of individuals, the authorities can only prevent it being put into execution if these individuals complain of it. If it is a question of a resolution taken by a Communal Assembly, the authorities, after having given a decision which annuls it, must refer it to the Minister of the Interior, the supreme authority, who will refer it to the Council of State, in order that the latter may decide it as the final court of appeal.

When the Communal Tribunal or the State authorities ask of the Municipal Council a decision on any matter lying within its jurisdiction, and which the communal authority does not wish to decide, the Minister, in view of the powers which he possesses in these matters, can himself give the necessary decision. Against a decision thus given appeal can be made before the Council of State.

The communal Budget contains, under the form of a estimate, all the receipts and expenses of a commune.

The following are considered communal receipts :

(1) All the receipts and additional centimes which it has not been possible to recover in previous years, and all the economies realized during the past year. (2) The revenue of the communal property ; the receipts derived from fairs, taxes, different farms ; the interest of capital belonging to the commune, and fines. (3) The receipts of the municipal *octroi* in places where this *octroi* exists. (4) The additional communal centimes imposed to the necessary figure proportionally to the direct taxes.

The expenses of the communes comprise : (1) The expenses which it has not been possible to pay in the preceding years, such as the expenses which are placed on the communes by virtue of the provisions of special laws. (2) The expenses resulting from the payment of the annuities for the loans of the commune. (3) The salaries of the personnel in the service of the commune ; the sums allocated to the construction and to the maintenance of buildings, for the purchase of material, for heating and lighting, for the treatment of the indigent sick, for the lighting of towns, for the paving of streets, for the making of drains, etc.

The Budget is drawn up by the Communal Tribunal, and is then discussed and voted by the Municipal Council. With reference to the voting of the Budget by the Council one notices that two different courses may be necessary :

1. The expenses are met by the receipts, and there is no need for additional centimes, or at least the deficit foreseen reduces itself to such a sum that the additional centimes which have to be imposed shall not exceed in a rural commune 10 per cent., and in an urban commune 15 per cent., of the amount of

the direct taxes. In this case the Budget once voted by the Municipal Council is sent for the approval of the State authorities. If the State authorities refuse the approval asked for, the Budget is referred to the Minister of the Finances, whose decision is final.

2. The expenses are not covered by the receipts, and additional centimes are necessary above those provided for under (1); then, after the vote of the budget by the Council a Communal Assembly must be convoked, which will impose on itself the additional centimes necessary. If that assembly will not consent to the additional centimes demanded, and if the expense is of such a nature that, in virtue of the law, it ought to be inscribed in the Budget, the Municipal Council will ask the approval of the Minister of Finance for this expense, and also that of the Council of State.

The final accounts of the commune are drawn up at the end of each financial inspection by the president of the commune and the treasurer; then the president submits them for the examination of the Municipal Council, at the latest on the 20th of January of the New Year in the rural communes, and before the end of February in the urban communes.

The election of the communal dignitaries, president, deputies, and municipal councillors, is made by secret ballot by means of balls and on lists of candidates. The list of candidates is one for all the dignitaries, president, deputies, and councillors, and it contains as many names as there are dignitaries to elect. Every list must be signed by a certain number of electors who propose it, and of whom the number varies according to the number of the ratepayers in the commune. This list can be signed by every citizen of the commune inscribed in the electoral lists. The list is submitted for confirmation of the Communal Tribunal five days at least before the day fixed for the election, and must be accompanied by the consent of the candidates. The Communal Tribunal, which delivers an acknowledgment of the receipt of the list, must decide within twenty-four hours if it is in order or not. If it decides that the list shall be refused, it is bound to transmit it within another twenty-four hours, with all the dossier, to the competent inferior court, which, again in twenty-four hours, pronounces a decision, which is final. Every confirmed list must have on the day of the election its special ballot-box. These ballot-boxes, as well as all the requisites for the elections (balls, and boxes in which the balls are kept) are furnished by the commune at its expense. These requisites serve also for the elections of the deputies.

The manner in which the elections are carried out is as follows: The constitution of the bureau (it is composed of a

president, chosen by the Municipal Council among the electors of the commune; of two members of the Municipal Council, also chosen by this council; and of a representative of each of the lists of candidates, who has been indicated on the list itself, below the names of the candidates proposed), examination of the ballot-boxes, procedure with regard to the electors, drawing up of the report—all these things are in general borrowed from the law on the election of the deputies, which law in addition serves as a base for the system of election of all communal dignitaries. When the voting has ended, and the number of balls found in each urn has been ascertained, the bureau announces the result of the election.

What candidates are declared elected by the bureau depends on the category to which the commune belongs, thus :

1. If the commune is that of a town, which, in virtue of the constitution, has the right to a special deputy, the procedure followed is this : The number of votes is divided by that of the councillors to be elected, which gives the electoral quotient. If a list of candidates has not obtained a number of votes equal to this quotient, the votes which it represents are added to the list which has obtained the greatest number of votes. Each list which has reached this quotient receives as many councillors' seats as it obtains so many times the electoral quotient. If this way of proceeding has not given the necessary number of councillors, the remaining places are shared between the lists of which the quotient is nearest to the quotient mentioned above. The president and the deputies are chosen from the list which has obtained the greatest number of councillors.

2. In all the other communes the whole of the list is considered elected (president, deputies, and councillors) which has obtained an absolute majority of votes. In case of an equality of votes it is decided by lot to which list victory belongs.

CHAPTER VI

THE ARMY

BY THE CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF

THERE are three distinct periods to be observed in the evolution of the Servian army: the first deals with the development up to 1858, the second to 1883, and the third to the present day. At the time of the Servian rising the embryo of the Rayah's organized forces were the bands of Haiduks. One of these bands was that under the famous Haiduk, Stanvye Glavash, whom the insurgents intended to choose as the national chief at the mass-meeting of Orashats in 1804. He refusing the honour, however, they offered it to George Petrovitch—Karageorges of Topola, grandfather of the present King of Servia—and he was duly elected. After the meeting at Orashats, when the insurrection had already spread to many places in the Pashalik of Belgrade, the richer and more important leaders began to attract other Servians, forming in that way masses of armed men, which did not possess, however, any special organization. The strength of these units varied considerably, and depended greatly on the importance and prestige of their leader, or Voivode. They were, however, composed in accordance with the administrative division of the country: communes produced 'bands,' counties 'battalions,' and districts Nahies, 'the army.' The first organized cadre among the insurgents was formed by those who had taken part in the Austro-Turkish War of 1788-1790 in the regiment of General Michelevitch, among whom was Karageorges himself. Later, other Servian officers serving in the Austrian army came over to assist their brothers. In the beginning the leader was chosen by the 'army' itself, but later this choice was made by the head chief (Vrhovni Vozd) council. Such leadership was retained in the family so long as there was an able-bodied man fitted to perform its duties. The rank and file had to provide their own clothing, food, weapons, and ammunition, also their horses and equipment if they belonged to the cavalry. Their weapons were mostly those acquired in battles with the

Turks. The first two cannon they possessed were presented to the insurgents by the Servians in Austria. The principal early artillery armament was obtained by the Servians when they conquered the two Turkish fortresses of Belgrade and Smederevo. Since it was difficult to capture, to buy, or to make ammunition in the country itself, Karageorges had to issue orders that it should be used with great care and economy; the wasting of ammunition was severely punished by flogging or by imprisonment.

Military exercises were at once begun. The troops learnt their drill largely during the siege of the fortresses of Belgrade and Smederevo, or when remaining for long periods in fortified positions. At Topola, in Karageorges' own house, there were always a certain number of men and officers under instruction. Data as to the numerical strength of the insurgents of this period do not agree. According to the Russian official statistics of 1810, and to the reports which Karageorges sent to the Tsar in 1816 regarding the army which had been raised in 1813, there were not more than 50,000 armed men employed in the first Servian insurrection. Before the end of that insurrection they had acquired about 300 cannon, but there were few soldiers possessing full equipment, and the arms were of the most varied description. In the second or Takovo insurrection of 1815 there were even fewer men employed, and these were less adequately equipped. Many of the fighting-men of the former insurrection had emigrated to Austria in 1813, and were employed against the French, and a great number had been killed or taken prisoner by the Turks.

It was after the liberation of Servia, naturally, that serious development could be undertaken in military organization and the strengthening of the army. About 1835-1838 a cadre was organized, consisting of one battalion of infantry, one squadron of cavalry, and one battery of artillery. Twelve young men were selected, and sent to Russia to study to fit themselves to become the first officers of the Servian army. The first enrolment of recruits took place, and the first military school for the supply of trained officers was opened at Pojarevats. In these years the small standing army already existing held its first manœuvres, and civil State officials were granted military rank. This modest but promising beginning in the development of Servian military power was, however, frustrated by foreign influence. In consequence of the Turkish Constitution of 1838 imposed upon Servia, all these preliminary efforts were wasted; the army was brought under the control of the Department of the Interior, and set to do the work of police, and the military school was closed. But the Servian desire for increased national military strength was not

stopped; it was only necessary to seek other ways and employ other means for giving expression to it. These were found principally in the establishment of a gun-factory and arsenal in 1848; the opening of an artillery school in 1850 (this school was supposed to prepare cannon-founders, instead of which it really became a school for the preparation of military officers). A census of all the able-bodied citizens and their equipment was made during the time of the war in 1854, and provision was made in the same year to provide the army with corn in time of war by the establishment of communal granaries. This institution still exists, and has been found a most satisfactory system in time of war or in years of bad harvest. All these are proofs of the wise and continuous efforts made for the strengthening of the military power of the country during the reign of Prince Alexander Karageorgevitch, father of the actual King of Servia.

The second period in the development of the Servian army (1858-1883) is characterized by great fundamental changes. The army was returned to its legitimate use, and became the instrument of defence for the fatherland, and not an organ of the police and Home Office. In 1861 the militia was created by law, composed of all able-bodied citizens between the ages of twenty and fifty. Its formation was simple, and the militia was divided into first and second Bans. The first Ban was always ready for service, and was composed as follows: each administrative county, which was at the same time a military division, supplied one complete brigade of the first Ban, composed of all arms, and one brigade of infantry of the second Ban. These brigades were convenient for the organization of larger military bodies—division army corps and armies as dependent upon the importance of the object and the extent of the warlike operation.

The militia were the more appreciated and the more carefully armed and drilled because, up to 1867, Servia still occupied a vassal position, and the presence of the Turkish garrisons in the fortresses and the inadequacy of the system of taxation made it impossible for her to maintain a standing army. With the evacuation of the fortresses by the Turkish troops a small standing army came into existence, which was constantly enlarged. Before the war of 1876 it consisted only of four battalions of infantry, eight field and four mountain batteries, two squadrons of cavalry, and some engineering detail. Before the war of 1877-1878 the infantry force had been enlarged to eight battalions, and since—during the wars of 1876, 1877, 1878—the standing army was combined with the militia, and lost in their superior numbers, it was absolutely impossible to improve it.

Servia engaged in the wars against the Turkish Empire with a purely national army or militia and a small number of officers belonging to the standing army. The lack of superior commanding officers for the general staff and a commissariat train suitable for long marches were especially felt. In the war of 1876 there were organized as many 'armies' as there were battle-fields; while in the war of 1877-1878 four army corps were raised. Compared with the Turkish army, the armament of the Servians left much to be desired. The infantry was armed with Peabody's and Green's rifle, besides which there were a large number of muzzle-loaders in use; the artillery possessed La Hitt's bronze guns. The Turkish infantry was armed with the Martini-Henry rifle, and the artillery had Krupp's steel guns. The total infantry strength of Servia in the war of 1877, in which she had to face the whole Turkish invasion, amounted to only 150,000 men; and in the war of 1877-1878, in which Servia took part only as an ally of Russia, she raised some 105,000 men, including combatants and non-combatants. In 1876 the Servian militia was able to hold out four and a half months against the numerically superior Turkish army, and in the next war the same militia were able to accomplish definite results and real successes, its outposts reaching to near Sofia, and even to the historic plain of Kossovo. This would have been impossible but for the patriotic enthusiasm and the self-sacrifice of the whole nation in its strife for freedom and independence. The army, although badly armed, poorly equipped, and but indifferently organized, was filled with the sentiments and inspired by the grandeur of defending and upholding the national ideas.

The third period in the evolution of the Servian army is marked by many changes, aiming at the improvement of the quality of the army and its capability as a striking force. The present cadre system of the army was, in 1883, laid down by the Law of the Organization of the Army. This was not based upon the territorial division of the forces, and the old system of militia was abandoned, having been found during the recent war to give ineffectual results. By this law, which did away with the selection by lot, and introduced obligatory service in the standing army for all young men of twenty years of age, an entirely new standing army and a new military division of the country were established. The organization included five divisions of the first Ban, five divisions of the second Ban, and sixty battalions of the third Ban; while the country was divided into five divisional departments, fifty regimental districts, and sixty battalion counties. The cadre was raised to a strength of five regiments of infantry, each of

three battalions; five squadrons of cavalry; five regiments of artillery, each of four batteries; five ambulance corps; and five engineer squadrons; in addition to engineer and fortress troops. The infantry, artillery, and ambulances of one divisional department were placed under the command of its own commandant; the cavalry and engineers were separated from their divisional composition into distinct units. All the troops of the standing army were placed under the command of one superior officer, who was called the Commander-in-Chief of the Active Army, this insuring more adequate training and better discipline.

On mobilization, the organization of the cadre was such that from an infantry company a battalion could be made, and from the latter a regiment; in the artillery, out of one battery two could be made. In this way the active division consisted of three infantry regiments, each of four battalions; one artillery regiment of eight batteries; one regiment of militia cavalry of three to four squadrons; one company of pioneers and ambulances; and train for bridges, red cross, ammunition, and commissariat. In addition to these divisional troops there were also those which remain outside of their competition—the cavalry of the regular army, the fortress artillery, and engineers. It was with such a formation and organization that the Servian army commenced the war against Bulgaria in 1885. Only five incomplete divisions of the first Ban were mobilized, and their total strength did not even reach 40,000 combatants. The principal reasons why the war of 1885 ended as it did are found in the fact that the new organization had not had time to get into good working order; in the incomplete mobilization of the units; in the underrating of the strength of the enemy; and in the almost inconceivable lack of ammunition and munitions of war.

In 1901 the Law for the Organization of the Army of 1883 underwent considerable changes, and it is by that revised law that the organization of the present Servian army is regulated. Compulsory service is general: personal for all able-bodied men, and pecuniary for those who are incapable—these pay 30 per cent. additional indirect taxes. The military forces are divided into the national army and the Landsturm, which forms the last line of defence. The service in the national army begins at the age of twenty-one, and ends at forty-five inclusive. In the Landsturm it lasts from seventeen years to twenty-one, and from forty-five to fifty. The National Army consists of three Bans: the first Ban includes all the able-bodied men from twenty-one to thirty-one; the second Ban those from thirty-one to thirty-eight; and the third Ban those from thirty-eight to forty-five. The first Ban has its

cadre and reserve. The cadre is the school through which all the able-bodied men of twenty-one years must pass. Even in times of peace it is forbidden for anyone to change his nationality whilst belonging to the first Ban; no one can receive any State appointment, or become a monk, or be ordained, until he has served his time in the army if he be physically fit.

The terms of service in the standing cadre are arranged as follows: Two years in the cavalry and artillery, and one and a half years in all other branches of the army. There exists also a shorter term of service of six months in the cadre, which applies especially to students of the lower and higher middle schools, as well as to those of the commercial, artisan, and agricultural colleges, on the condition that they pass an examination as Lieutenant in the reserve, otherwise they must serve fourteen months. This shortened time applies also to those recruits from whose home two other members have already served the full time. Only those upon whom depend helpless children, incapable members of a poor household, or old men and women of above sixty years of age, are exempted from serving in the cadre. The avoidance of service in the cadre is punishable by three years' service, and should the parents of recruits or military fugitives assist in concealing them, they are punished by a fine of 300 francs.

The enrolment of the recruits takes place during the months of July and August. The enrolment commission consists of a commander of the district regiment, a military doctor, an officer and administrative official—the prefect or clerk. In the cavalry service special attention is paid to seeing that, if possible, the parents of recruits should be well-to-do people, in order that they may at any time supply him with a horse and its equipment for the cavalry of the Ban to which he may belong after having served his time. According to the recruiting regulations, the minimum height of an able-bodied youth is 153 centimetres, and chest 78 centimetres (60 and 32 inches), and he must be physically sound and well-developed. The recruits are taken into the cadre at the beginning of each year, and not later than May. Their number is on the increase, and in recent years amounted to 21,000, which means that with the system of two years' service Servia possesses about 42,000 recruits. This would, however, impose too great a strain upon her finances, and it is especially for that reason that the period of one and a half years' service has been adopted for the majority of the recruits.

The question of remounts and baggage-train, always difficult of organization in smaller States, is arranged as follows: All those who possess cattle and suitable carts for the purposes of

the army are under the obligation to give them to that service when occasion arises. Those who do not possess any cattle or carts pay a special tax of 5 per cent. of their yearly taxes. In order to apply this regulation adequately, a register is kept of all the cattle and carts in the country, classified and distributed according to the units of the mobilization system. A remount fund has been established from the 5 per cent. contribution, and serves principally for the purchase of artillery horses, which are not obtainable in the country, but must be bought in Austria or Russia. This fund amounts yearly to about 400,000 francs. The weapons and the ammunition for all the Bans are bought by the State. Clothes are supplied by the State only for soldiers of the first Ban of the National Army (cadre and reserve) ; the men belonging to the second and third Bans must buy their own clothes, which are, however, usually ordered by the district council for the sake of uniformity, and in order to obtain better terms. Non-commissioned officers are principally trained in the special schools established for this purpose, but are also taken from the ranks. They receive their clothes, food, housing, pay, and an additional pay from the State, in accordance with the terms of their service. They are allowed to marry, and if they do so they obtain fuel for their family. After twelve years of continuous and satisfactory service they can retire from the army, and may be employed by the State of Administration in minor posts, such as postillions, post and telegraph officials, railway conductors, storekeepers, tax-collectors, Custom-house clerks, etc., for which posts they can prepare during the six months before they wish to leave the army. After the completion of fourteen years' continuous and satisfactory service such non-commissioned officers are entitled to a yearly life allowance, and after their death their family receives one-half to three-quarters of such an allowance. Instead of this pension, non-commissioned officers may receive a lump sum of 1,200 francs.

The officers for all branches of the service come from the Military Academy in Belgrade, but sergeant-majors who have finished in the school for non-commissioned officers can be promoted to the rank of Lieutenants if they pass the prescribed examination, and if the officers of the regiment to which they belong elect them to be members of the officers' corps. The medical officers are drawn from the young men who have taken a doctor's degree, and are given the rank of Sanitary Lieutenant. Juridical officers are drawn from those who have finished with honours the courses of law of the Royal University of Belgrade. The number of officers thus available is not sufficient for the actual need of the services. Much stress is therefore laid on the officers of the reserve who are

taken from amongst the students of the higher middle schools, and who are allowed to take a shortened service in the cadre, in order to induce them to pass the necessary examination to become reserve officers in the various branches of the service. For the Administrative Service preference is given to those officers especially qualified, who express a desire for this branch, subject always to their passing the necessary examination.

The promotion of officers up to the rank of Major in all the branches of the service depends upon passing prescribed examinations, and depends also upon good conduct and serious application. To be promoted to Colonel, it is necessary that an officer should have finished the courses at the Military Academy, and be otherwise qualified for superior command; to be promoted to General, he must have finished the higher course of the Military Academy, and shown himself well qualified for the highest command, and have served at least five years as a Colonel. The rank of Voivode-zank (Generalissimo) can be obtained only during war-time and for special service. The pensioning of officers takes place by royal decree on the proposition of the Minister of War, and after consultation with the Council of Ministers. Ten years of active service entitles an officer to a pension, which is so arranged that after thirty-five years of active service the officer will receive his full salary as pension. Years of war are counted double.

Marriage is allowed to officers ranking as Lieutenants if they have already served five years as commissioned officers, and if they can guarantee a certain sum of money, usually secured by the bride's dowry, though the officer may give it himself. In addition, it is expected that a bride shall belong to a respectable family, and be worthy to be received in officers' society. For this reason the officer must previously obtain permission to marry from the Minister of War. Non-commissioned officers and officers are paid on the following scale: Corporal, 60 francs a year; sergeant, 360 francs; sergeant-major, 600 francs; Sublieutenant, 1,800 francs; Lieutenant, 2,200 francs; Captain of the second class, 2,600 francs; Captain of the third class, 3,150 francs; Major, 4,500 francs; Lieutenant, 5,500 francs; Colonel, 7,200 francs; General, 10,104 francs; and Voivode, 15,000 francs. In addition to their regular pay, non-commissioned officers receive a supplement, according to the terms of the service. Thus, a sergeant at the fifth term of service receives 550 francs per year, including his pay and additional pay, while a sergeant-major in the fifth term of service receives altogether 810 francs yearly; every term counts two years. Commissioned officers receive supplementary pay of 243 francs a year for a servant, and 27 cubic metres of wood for fuel annually. Those who are obliged to keep a

riding-horse receive for every such horse 252 francs. Non-commissioned officers are exempt from the payment of rates and taxes, but commissioned officers are not.

Special schools exist for the training of non-commissioned officers of all branches — infantry, cavalry, artillery, and engineers. The infantry school is in Belgrade, the artillery in Kragujevats, and for cavalry and engineering in Nish. The schools are established in these centres in accordance with the distribution of the troops of the various branches. The course of study in these schools lasts one and a half and two years respectively; only students having at least two years' training in the middle school are admitted. The whole course of education is of the most practical nature. On attaining the rank of sergeant, they are transferred to the troop service at the end of the school training. These non-commissioned officers may be promoted to hold commission if they pass the necessary examination and are accepted by the officers of the regiment.

The officers for all the branches are trained in the Military Academy in Belgrade. This was first established as the artillery school, and was reorganized in 1885 on the present line. There is a lower and a higher course of study. The lower course was formerly for three years, then for a short period for two years, and now extends over four years. In the lower course students are accepted after having passed six years of study in the middle school. The course gives a fundamental, theoretic, and practical military knowledge, and the cadets are appointed Lieutenants in all branches after the conclusion of their studies. The higher course lasts two years, and is followed by junior officers after they have spent three years at least with the troops, and have passed the preliminary examination. Some twenty to thirty officers take the higher course each year. In this course the officers are trained for the higher military duties. The subjects taught are strategy, higher tactics, history of wars, service of the General Staff in peace and war, military administration, artillery, permanent fortification and surveying, in addition to riding, fencing, and foreign languages—German, French, and Russian. During the school vacation both the cadets of the lower course and the officers of the higher course are trained in practical works, and spend the time in service with the troops, in tracing roads, and in travelling through the country, in order to solve problems of a technical and military character.

The organization of the Servian army is based upon the military division of the State territory, and on the mixed cadre system which was introduced in 1883. The kingdom of Servia is divided in the following divisional territories:

Moravska, Drinska, Donnavska, Shoumadiska, and Timotchka. Each divisional territory consists of three regimental districts, and each district of four battalions. The organization prescribes five divisions of the first Ban, five divisions of the second Ban, and sixty battalions of the third Ban, besides the troops which are outside the divisional organization.

In the standing army there are at present five divisions of infantry; one division of cavalry of four cavalry regiments, each of four squadrons, and two horse batteries; one fortress artillery team of two battalions and a siege-park; one regiment of hanbitz of six batteries; one regiment of mountain artillery of seven batteries; one command of engineers and one battalion of pioneers; two companies of cantoneers; one company of railway men; one company of telegraph men; own company of miners; and the royal guard, consisting of one squadron of cavalry and one company of infantry. An infantry division of the standing army contains at present four regiments of infantry, of three battalions each; one regiment of field artillery of nine batteries; one train squadron; one ambulance company; and one detachment of bakers. Altogether there are in the standing army sixty battalions of infantry; sixteen squadrons of cavalry; forty-five field, seven mounted, six hanbitz and horse batteries, with 240 harnessed cannon; one command of engineers and fortress artillery with the siege-park.

On mobilization the change of the units of the first Ban of the national army is a simple one, owing to the fact that each unit has its cadre and territorial division in time of peace. On mobilization the infantry regiments are increased from three to four battalions, batteries receive six instead of four cannon each, the infantry divisions receive their militia cavalry, and the cavalry division of the standing army is strengthened by the reservists, and becomes the cavalry of the army.

The mobilization of the second Ban does not offer many difficulties, except that its supply of officers is rather a small one. These are employed in the regimental commands of district and divisional territories and other departments. Special units for this Ban do not exist. The formation of the third Ban is completed by the infantry regiment. There are no higher units.

The King is Commander-in-Chief of the army; to him the soldiers take the oath of loyalty. He decides the organization of the army and the arrangement of the higher departments, institutions, and military schools; he draws up the regulations for discipline, and decides the employment of the army in time of peace and of war. The King proclaims war and concludes peace. The Minister of War is a responsible member of the Government, and administers the army accord-

ing to divisions of the law. The General Staff is a distinct institution, and is an assistance to the Minister of War. The position of the Chief of the General Staff is such that he can report direct with the King on the current business of the department, as well as upon all the new projects entering into his sphere of action. He is the head of the General Staff Department, and it is his duty to see that it is supplied with the most capable officers available. Such officers can only be those who have finished the higher course of the Military Academy in Belgrade, and who have spent a certain number of years with the troops, commanding the fundamental unit of their branch with marked success, and who have been distinguished in the General Staff as capable officers during the preparatory course of two years. At the end of two years of such preparatory study these officers have to pass a very strict examination before a special Commission, composed of officers of the General Staff, presided over by the chief of the department himself. It is only if they pass such an examination satisfactorily that they can be transferred to the General Staff Department.

For the trial of offences which involve more severe punishment than is regulated by the disciplinary ordinances there exist military divisional courts of the first instance for non-commissioned officers and privates. For offences committed by officers there is only one military tribunal located in Belgrade. There exists one superior military power in Belgrade ranking above those referred to, and applicable alike for officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates. For disciplinary misdemeanours of a more serious character committed by officers there is also a disciplinary court, against whose judgment there is no appeal. On the staff of the divisional commands there are military investigators and judicial reporters; in the Ministry of War, the chief of the Judicial Department; and in the superior courts, the State Attorney—all military judges who have completed the courses of law. The offender may have a counsel drawn from among the officers before the ordinary or superior military court. The trials in military courts are not public.

The infantry of the first Ban of the National Army is armed with repeating rifles, M. 99, system Mauser, calibre 7 mm., with 1,500 cartridges per rifle. The infantry of the second Ban is armed with the Berdan 10·66 mm. rifle, with 1,000 cartridges per rifle. The third Ban is armed with the Mauser-Roka rifle, 10.15 mm., with 1,000 cartridges per rifle. At the arsenal at Kragujevats 50,000 of these rifles are being transformed into repeating rifles of 7 mm., and later another 30,000 are to be changed. The Cavalry is armed with sabre and repeating Mauser carbine, model 1884, calibre 10 mm. (there have been

ordered, also, 10,000 Mauser carbines, 7 mm.). The Engineers are armed with the Berdan. The officers, sergeant-majors, and buglers are armed with Nagan revolvers, 7 mm. Each of the first five Ban divisions has a field artillery regiment, with nine batteries of 4 guns, giving in all forty-five field batteries, with 180 quick-firing guns, calibre 7·5 cm., system Schneider, with a maximum of twenty-five shots per minute. Besides these, there are two horsed batteries of 4 guns of the same system. There is also a regiment of mountain artillery, three divisions and nine batteries of 4 Schneider 7 cm. guns, and a battery of 4 quick-firing 7·5 Skoda guns. This gives a total of 228 quick-firers. The first Ban has in addition a regiment with six batteries of 4 howitzers, and one of 6 mortars, system Schneider, calibre 12 cm. and 15 cm. There are 16 Schneider-Canet fortress-guns, besides many fortress-mortars, breech-loading steel Krupp guns and Servian guns of 12 cm. and 15 cm. The five second Ban divisions have each an artillery regiment of three divisions of three batteries of 6 Bange 8 cm. guns. There is also a regiment of mounted artillery of two divisions, one of three and the other of four batteries of 4 Bange 8 cm. guns, with an additional Krupp battery. This Ban possesses in all forty-five batteries of 270 field-guns and eight batteries of 32 mountain-guns. The total Servian artillery is as follows : fifty-six batteries of quick-firers, with 228 guns ; fifty-three batteries of Bange guns, with 302 guns ; five batteries of howitzers, with 20 guns ; one battery of mortars, with 6 guns ; two battalions or 16 guns of fortress artillery, etc. There are 1,500 shells per gun.

For the production of ammunition and other war material there exist the following institutions : In Kragujevats a technical military factory, with workshops and store of ammunition for the infantry and artillery armament, also for all stores of cavalry, harnessing and commissariat equipment, and for the repair of rifles and guns ; the military gunpowder factory in Obilitchevo, near Krushevats, for smokeless, and in Straghari, near Kragujevats, for common, powder.

Troop exercises are practised on the most up-to-date lines, in accordance with the contemporary views as to tactics and war service, with small-calibre rifles and smokeless gunpowder. Target-shooting is much practised under all conditions during the summer months, besides the school-teaching. In the artillery special attention is paid to such target-shooting, which is practised in winter as well as in summer, in spite of the heavy snowfall.

Every year manœuvres on a small or large scale are arranged, in order to exercise all branches of the army in general, and in these the reservists of the first Ban are ordered to join the standing army for the purpose of instruction. In the small

manœuvres the various branches of the garrison take part, while generally in larger ones two infantry divisions are placed on half the war-footing, and go through the manœuvres as nearly as possible on the lines of actual warfare. The great manœuvres are directed by the Chief of the General Staff.

Since the second Ban plays such an important part in time of war, its units are also exercised. Thus, in 1902, several regiments of infantry of the second Ban took part in the great manœuvres, and in 1903 special courses were arranged in the standing army for preparing the infantry officers of this Ban.

The discipline of the Servian army is strict, but not brutal; relations between officers and privates are full of confidence and mutual esteem. There is much devotion on the part of the younger men toward their elders. The traditions of the fierce fighting in the first and second insurrection, as well as in the later wars for freedom, are still fresh in the mind of the present Servian army, and remain as an encouragement to deeds of daring to the younger generations. These traditions are also officially encouraged. For some time past a yearly custom has been introduced by which the regiments of all branches fête some important and glorious event from Servian military history.. Thus, one infantry regiment celebrates the conquest of Belgrade from the Turks in 1806; another infantry regiment takes the brilliant victory at Shoumatovatz in 1876; an artillery regiment celebrates the conquering Nish in 1878; a cavalry regiment honours the famous battle at Misher (by Schabatz) in 1806, etc. Some important events have also been chosen from the Servian history of the Middle Ages, such as the battle of Kossovo in 1639, which is solemnly celebrated by a religious ceremony with the popular rites for the honouring of patron saints. After the church ceremony the commanders make speeches about national heroes and the patriotic deeds and sacrifices of their ancestors; a *défilé* takes place before the eldest commanding officer present, with military music, and the fête ends with athletic games and sports.

The Servian army numbers annually on an average about 22,000 privates and non-commissioned officers, and 1,800 officers. During the summer months this number is raised to 35,000. In time of war five divisions of the first Ban, with the units of the divisional organization, give about 125,000 fighting men. Five divisions of the second Ban of the National Army muster about 75,000 men, this giving a total of 200,000 able-bodied men to take the offensive. The third Ban of the National Army, composed of sixty battalions, or about 50,000 men, may be employed at the rear of the operating army, on the lines of communication and in fortified places.

CHAPTER VII

THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM—POLICE AND PRISONS

By THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE

THE struggle of the Servian people in 1804, which in the beginning was as an act of defence against the usurpation of power by the Pashalik of Belgrade, later assumed the character of a national uprising, with the object of creating an organized legal State and a political existence within the frontiers of the Ottoman Empire. The success of the Servian arms at the beginning of the insurrection and the favourable condition of the international political situation encouraged the people to despatch to the Porte deputations to propose certain conditions affecting the political, military, and financial organization of those regions where the revolution had been successful. The Porte accepted the proposed conditions, which formed the base of the legal State desired by the Servian people; but after having deferred putting them into execution for some time, the Turks repudiated their promise. Notwithstanding this, the Servian people continued their struggle in the battle-field, and the national consciousness, revived by the military successes, began itself internal organization. State rights which enjoined full sovereignty received an organization, having at the head the supreme ruler, and a Council composed of twelve members, elected by the twelve departments already liberated. The Council composed in this way, with the members supported by those departments which had elected them, formed the supreme legislative, administrative, and judicial authority; the administrative power was exercised in the departments by the Voivodes, and the judicial power by the magistrates and courts, in the chief towns of the departments.

In this way began the State organization and the creation of legislation in the country. The entrance of the Russian army into Servia in 1807, and the peace negotiations between Russia and Turkey, which concluded with the Peace of Bucarest on the 28th of May, 1812, must be considered, since by

these the existing organization was legally recognized. Article 8 of the Treaty of Peace spoke of Servia, but in such indefinite and inexact terms—especially regarding its political rights—that there resulted new difficulties between the Servians and the Porte, the latter interpreting the treaty to the detriment of the Servians and to its own advantage. Perceiving this, the Servians demanded, backed by force of arms, to be accorded those rights which had been recognized by the Treaty of Bucarest. Turkey, however, freed from the menace of her powerful adversary, Russia, and determined to take vengeance on the revolutionaries, despatched an enormous army against Servia, to which, in 1813, the Servians had to yield in unequal combat. Together with political liberty, all the other advantages acquired with such effort disappeared, and the Servians became again rayahs. In the year 1815, however, imperilled by the persecution, continuous bad treatment, and the bloody extermination practised by the Turks, the Servians rose in revolt, and again took up arms. The unexampled swiftness of the insurrection and the unanimity of the entire nation enabled the Servian people to again obtain possession of all the country, with the exception of those fortresses where there were Turkish garrisons. Overcome by such rapid success, the Porte entered again into negotiations with the Servians, who willingly accepted the proffered friendship, but without laying down their arms. The peace and reconciliation negotiations were, comparatively speaking, favourable for the Servians. Through her plenipotentiaries in the pourparlers the Porte announced itself ready to grant the following concessions: The Servians should have the right of carrying arms; they should collect the taxes themselves; the interdiction to the 'Muselims' (or Turkish police) of carrying out the judgments given against the Servians without obtaining the authorization of the prefects; the institution to replace the Council of a national chancellory such as had already been constituted during the second insurrection. The Servians, however, were not able to obtain from the Porte formal and binding adhesion to these conditions. In order to put an end to the uncertainty of the situation, they despatched a deputation to Constantinople which was able to induce the Porte to issue a 'formal firman,' which was conveyed to Servia by a small mission, and which contained: The definite figure of the taxes in the province which formally formed the Pashalik of Belgrade; further restrictions of the power of the Turkish police; the recognition of Milosh Obrenovitch as Prince of Servia; and the obligation for the Servians, as subjects of the Porte, of furnishing provisions to the Turkish army occupying the fortresses throughout the country. As soon as they were informed of the nature of

the firman the Servians declared that they would not accept it, since they refused to subscribe to the conditions contained in it; consequently this firman was not published.

The Prince, together with the nation, sent a new deputation to Constantinople with the following demand: (1) The extension of the country's frontier to those regions which were occupied by the Servians at the time of the Treaty of Bucarest. (2) The settlement of the amount of taxation of the whole country. (3) The recognition of the Prince by an imperial firman, the re-establishment of the Council, and the foundation of courts of justice according to the need of the nation. (4) Liberty of belief, of construction of churches and schools, and the creation of other institutions tending towards progress and civilization. The difficulties which broke out in Wallachia and Moldavia, as well as in Greece, in 1821, prevented the negotiations from coming to a conclusion, and the Porte imprisoned the Servian delegates under the pretext that it was necessary in order to insure their safety. The Servian people, therefore, withdrew from these delegates the powers with which they had been furnished.

This ill-defined situation was brought to an end by Russia, who demanded that the Treaty of Bucarest should be carried out—a treaty which the Porte had refused to execute, greatly to the detriment of the Servians; long negotiations, finally finished by the signature at Ackerman on the 27th of September, 1826, of a convention containing a special provision concerning Servia, gave satisfaction to the desires of the people as expressed in the Treaty of Bucarest. This treaty, possessing an international importance, guaranteed to the Servian people full liberty of internal administration, of legislation, and of courts, as well as of institutions of public education and the development of civilization, and also stipulated that the Turks living in Servia should leave the country—a stipulation which was only fulfilled many years later. The Porte, however, following its usual custom, delayed the fulfilment of its obligations towards the Servians. Finally, by Article 6 of the Treaty of Adrianople, of the 14th of September, 1829, the Turks solemnly undertook again to accord all the privileges granted to the Servians. The firman in which this was published was delivered fifteen days after the conclusion of the Treaty of Adrianople. One year later another firman appeared, which granted to the Prince of Servia the right of heredity in his family, but which obliged him at the same time, after having consulted the Council, to give to the country a constitution according to which he must govern. This Hatichérif of the 3rd of August, 1830, together with the preceding one, forms the basis of the legal relations of the Servian State towards the Porte, and it

remained in force till the Proclamation of Independence in 1878.

After having thus arranged the relations of the country with Turkey, the administrative and legislative internal organization was proceeded with. These efforts had as result the organic law voted by the Great Skupchtina in 1835, which, however, was not put into practice. It is upon the basis of this law, to which the Porte refused to give its sanction, that the Constitution promulgated in Servia on the 13th of February, 1839, was established. In this way the Servian delegates in Constantinople collaborated. This was the fundamental law regulating the relations between the Prince and the people, and organizing the administration, legislation and courts, finances, church, etc. For about ten years a great legislative activity took place on the promulgation of the Constitution in the establishment of organic law, and which had as a result the consolidation and the confirmation of the internal situation of the country. At the close of the Crimean War, during which Servia was able to maintain neutrality, Article 28 of the Treaty of Paris, signed on the 30th of March, 1856, recognized the Servian right of free internal administration, liberty of confession, liberty of justice, of legislation, of trade, and of navigation; Article 29 of the same treaty forbids all armed intervention without a preliminary arrangement amongst the contracting parties. In this way the edifice of the internal independence of the principality of Servia was completed.

The legislative power which the Council partly exercised, even before the Constitution of 1838, belonged, according to that Constitution, to the Prince and to the Council, the latter possessing also the right of controlling the administration. A law of the 27th of April, 1834, fixed the organization of the Council of the principality of Servia. Each law, each regulation, had to be submitted to the Council, and receive its approval. Only such laws could receive the sanction of the Prince, and be promulgated and enforced. The right of initiating legislation belonged essentially to the Council, but the Prince and the different Ministers could also declare the necessity of new law. The drawing up of these laws was, however, reserved for the Council. Little by little the drawing up of the laws passed naturally into the hands of the different Ministers who submitted their projects of law for the examination and approval of the Council. The interpretation of the laws was also a right of the Council.

The scope of the legislative power, which belonged, according to the Constitution, to the Prince and to the Council, included all the juridical conditions of public and private rights—those of the former within the limits of the State rights, since Servia was

a sovereign State ; those of the latter in all their scope of free internal administration, without, however, in any way affecting those rights acquired by juridical and naturalized persons. The rules prescribed had the forms of laws or of regulations, both having equally obligatory power, and their publication belonged to the executive power. This publication was made in the official journal, and in the official publication of the collection of laws and regulations. Laws came into force thirty days after they had received the sanction of the Sovereign, unless they were incorporated in the law itself under other stipulations.

The National Skupchtina, which had played a great rôle in the foundation of the Servian State, was also a considerable factor in the development of legislative power, but for many years it remained without any legal organization. At the commencement of the first insurrection this assembly possessed almost sovereign power ; it was this which elected Karageorges as head of the nation, which decided the relations with foreign countries and the internal organization, which elected the deputations to be sent to foreign courts with the object of negotiating on the subject of internal organization, which created laws, and fixed taxes and military service. Later, after 1815, the Princes submitted to the assembly treaties concluded by the State ; it was consulted concerning the necessities of the nation (Skupchtina of St. Pierre in 1848) ; it elected and changed the heads of State, elected the provisional Government, and so on. It was only by the law of the 28th of October, 1858, that the Skupchtina which had existed till then by virtue of a national custom received a definite legal form. This law organized the National Skupchtina, and defined the scope of its rights. Its object, according to this law, was to present to the executive an accurate and faithful expression of the sentiments and the condition of the nation. The assembly had no other right than to give advice upon questions laid before it by the Prince and the Council through the intermediary of the Ministers ; it had the right to make proposals of law, but its proposals had no binding force, unless the Prince, together with the Council, made from them laws according to the Constitution. The National Skupchtina only became a legislative factor by virtue of the Constitution of the 29th of June, 1869—the first Constitution due to the national initiative without participations of the sovereign power, and by which the Constitution of 1838 was tacitly abolished. This Constitution of 1869, which was voted by the national Skupchtina and sanctioned by the Regent exercising power during the minority of the Prince, introduced for the first time into the State organization of Servia the National Skupchtina as a factor in the legislative power. This

right the assembly had to exercise in agreement with the Prince (Article 54). No law could be made without the consent of the National Skupchtina, nor revoked, modified, or altered in meaning (Article 55). It was necessary that it shall be clearly stated in the publication of the law that the approval of the National Skupchtina had been accorded with, and in the ordinances relating to the carrying out of laws it was necessary to quote the law in virtue of which the ordinance was created. Ordinances issued by the Prince in case of national danger had to be submitted for the approbation of the first Skupchtina which met. Proposals for new laws or changes, additions, and new readings of existing laws, were made to the Skupchtina by the Prince, or to the Prince by the Skupchtina. The former proposals, however, could only emanate from the Prince (Article 58).

The Constitution of the 22nd of December, 1888, which replaced that of 1869, created the National Assembly, a legislative factor still more powerful. The composition, which was by direct and secret election of deputies, was a notable distinction from the preceding Skupchtina, and gave it greater importance and consideration. In addition to the prerogatives of the earliest Skupchtina, it exercised legislative power in common with the King (Article 33), and had the right of initiative (Article 34) which was not possessed before. The assent of the two portions of the legislative power was necessary for each law (Article 35), and only this body had the right of interpreting the meaning of laws in a binding manner (Article 37).

Political disturbances, however, did not allow this Constitution to remain long in force. It was illegally suppressed in 1894, and replaced by the Constitution of 1869. The National Skupchtina thus lost the importance of legislative laws which it possessed by the Constitution of 1838, and returned within the narrower limits of the older Constitution. This state of affairs continued till the appearance of a new Constitution, on the 6th of April, 1901.

The chief characteristic of this was the division of the National Assembly—the second legislative factor—into two Chambers, the Senate and the Skupchtina (Article 43). The right to propose laws belonged to the King and to the National Assembly. The Government, in the name of the King, always submitted projects of laws to the National Skupchtina in the first instance (Article 47). All dispositions relative to the creation, abrogation, amendment, suspension, or interpretation of laws, to their publication, to the obligatory nature of laws, regulations, and ordinances agreed entirely with the corresponding arrangements of the Constitution of 1888.

After scarcely two years this Constitution was replaced by that of the 3rd of June, 1902. With the exception of

Article 57, which deals with the question of the Royal Dynasty and the person of the King, the new Constitution is, save for some insignificant details, absolutely identical with that of 1888. Consequently, according to the Constitution actually in force now, the legislative power is exercised by the King, together with the National Skupchtina, and the latter possesses for legislation all the constitutional prerogatives mentioned in connection with the Constitution of 1888.

Such was the development of the legislative power of Servia during the century between the Servian revolution of 1804 and the present day. Having consisted in the beginning of primitive assemblies, or meetings of warriors who were fighting for their rights and for their freedom, the legislative power passed through different phases under the various guises of National Council, Regional Representation Council, Oligarchic Institution, and National Skupchtina, without the right of initiative in the creation of laws, to its present state of legislative body of the constitutional monarchy, with all the attributes demanded by modern science, and required by the existence of a free people.

The judicial and legislative power developed side by side during the time of the national revolution for the deliverance of the country. After the first insurrectionary successes nobody wished to longer recognize the power of the Turkish Porte and judges. These were replaced by courts, composed of the heads of towns or villages. Judgment was given solely according to reason. The judicial power was modified in form with the development of the State organism; magistrates and Ispravnitchestva were created as courts of the first instance side by side with the Council of State, which, beside its legislative and administrative powers, also exercised judicial functions. The head of the State to whom the people often addressed themselves directly also exercised judicial power in the first and last instance. He even condemned to death and had also the right of pardon, which he held in virtue of his military authority. In cases of small importance the Voivodes and the prefects judged in the same way. After the military failure of 1813 and the destruction of the State organization, it was again the Turkish power which judged the Servian rayahs. Even after 1815, when the new insurrection had succeeded, Turkish judges continued for some time to act in mixed tribunals side by side with the municipal Servian chiefs. Decisions of the Turkish police authorities in towns where there were Turkish subjects could only be carried out with the approval of the representative of the Servian municipality.

With the development of the internal organization of the State during the years 1820-1825, and according to the desire,

more and more awakened in the Servian people, to live autonomously in every respect, the organization of the judicial power progressed materially. The creation of departmental courts, and of the National Chancellory, which possessed also judicial power, marks the first stage in this reorganization. It was, however, the Constitution of 1838 which supplied a positive basis. This Constitution established three kinds of courts: Justices of the Peace in the villages, whose organization was regulated by Articles 31, 32, and 40; Departmental Courts in each of the seventeen departments then existing, of which the composition and the procedure were laid down by Articles 33, 34, 35, 38, 39, 41, and 42; and the Court of Appeal in the capital, as a court of the second and last instance. The organization of the departmental courts, as well as their competence in civil and criminal matters, were set forth and fixed in the first case by the Law of the 16th of January, 1840, but it is by the Law of the 20th of February, 1865, that they received their actual organization, which has never ceased to develop and to advance.

The organization of the Great Court, or the Court of Appeal, is also based upon the Law of the 16th of January, 1840. Then, as now, this court had two sections, of which one had competence for the seven northern departments and the town of Belgrade, while the second had competence for the ten other departments (Ordinance of the 9th of October, 1849). The perfecting of the organization of the Court of Appeal as second and last instance continued from then until it gradually arrived at the actual condition determined by the Law of the 20th of February, 1865. This court examines and judges, according to the civil or criminal procedure, in the second or last instance, civil affairs, contentious or non-contentious, as well as criminal affairs upon which the courts of the first instance have already given a preliminary judgment. It is also competent for appeals against the decisions of *Juges-curateurs*.

The development of the third instance for the judicial power of cassation has taken longer and passed through various stages. With the object of securing a more exact exercise of justice, and to render it more sure, the Supreme Tribunal was instituted in 1846 as a definite court of the third and last instance. It possessed the right of examining cases judged in the first and second instance. It could annul totally or partially the judgment, and order a new trial, or it could alter the judgment or approve it. But this power of cassation was rendered illusory by a clause (Article 12 of the Law of 9th September, 1846) giving to the discontented party in the sentence of the Supreme Tribunal, in a civil case, the right of appealing to the Prince within a delay of fifteen days. In

order to render this procedure more practical, there was instituted (by decree of the 3rd of August, 1851) in the Ministry of Justice the judicial section which had the power to receive all appeals against the judgment of the courts, and to examine the question upon which they should advise the Prince. The decision of the Prince was then communicated to the courts. The right of revoking judgments, formerly possessed by the Prince, was suppressed in the new organization of the Supreme Tribunal and Court of Cassation (Law of the 28th of December, 1855). This law suppressed the existence of a right which came into being after the revolutionary foundation of the new Servian State, and which had as a reason the necessity for concentrating the supreme power in one individual and under one hand. But from the moment when the new Servian State had commenced its regular course, the organization of the State being regularly constituted, it was inevitable that the supreme judicial power of the chief of State should cease. According to the Law of 1855, the Supreme Courts of Cassation possessed at the same time the power of judging and of revoking judgments. This organization was modified on several occasions. Finally, it was definitely fixed by the Law of the 20th of February, 1865, which is still in force. According to this law, the Court of Cassation is placed above all the courts of the first instance and of the Court of Appeal, as well as above the Cour des Comptes, in so far as it concerns disputes relating to State accounts and institutions placed under the control of the State.

In all the kingdom there only exists one Court of Cassation—in Belgrade—of three sections, each composed of five judges. Its duty is to see that throughout the State the laws, both material and formal, in civil cases (contentious or non-contentious), as well as in criminal cases, should be accurately executed according to their text, and in a uniform manner. It is also competent to deal with disputes which may arise in the exercise of justice between the civil, military, ecclesiastic courts, administrative authorities, and the Cour des Comptes, either between the courts of the same class, or between courts of different classes. The Court of Cassation does not judge: it confirms or annuls judgments of the inferior courts by asking them to apply the law accurately, and in cases which fall legally within its competence. The Court of Cassation in full séance deals in principle with disputed interpretations of legal prescriptions; also it resolves certain legal questions which are applied in various ways. These decisions, with their reasons, are included in the special book of decisions of principle, with the signature of all the judges who have come to that decision. They are also published by the Court of Cassation

in the official journal, and communicated to the Minister of Justice. These decisions are binding on the two sections, and for all the Court of Cassation when this court, in two full séances, and with at least eleven votes in each, shall not have decided differently for the interpretation and application of the same legal prescription. Should such a case appear, the Minister of Justice submits it to the National Skupchtina in its earliest session. Until then the second decision arrived at by the Court of Cassation in full séance cannot be changed. Decisions of principle are also given by the Court of Cassation in cases where one of its sections asks that the court should decide the true sense and signification of a certain legal disposition in order to secure uniformity in the application of the law. Besides, the Court of Cassation, gathered in full séance, gives its advice upon the request of the Minister of Justice upon some point of law, or when the Court of Cassation, after having recognized the need, asks that a law should be amended, or that there should be created a new law; further, when the court has to submit observations to the Minister of Justice dealing with a decision taken by him, if it be found that such is not in conformity with existing law, or has not been arrived at by legal means, making it impossible of acceptance. Finally, the Court of Cassation in full séance settles cases in which an inferior court has not adopted the observations made upon one of its judgments by a section of the Court of Cassation. Such has been, briefly, the development of the judicial power in Servia since that nation commenced an autonomous life; from that time when justice was dispensed by the mayor of the village, to the creation of an organization of regular judicial power which acts in judging or examining in two or three instances—a system which guarantees the regular application of the law for the benefit of all those whose rights have been injured or threatened, as well as in all cases where the laws of public order have been violated.

The value of this judicial organization is all the greater because the courts, according to the Constitution, are independent. In order to dispense justice they are not submitted to any authority: they only judge and decide according to the law. The legislative and executive power may not exercise judicial functions, neither may the courts exercise legislative or executive power. No court or organization of judicial authority may be created otherwise than by law. Under no title or under no condition may extraordinary courts or judicial commissions be instituted. No court may institute actions against anybody unless it be competent according to the law. The presence of at least three judges is necessary before the courts can dispense justice. Justice

is dispensed in the courts publicly, save in such cases as the courts consider it necessary to exclude the public in the interests of order or public morals. The discussion and the vote are secret. Judgments are pronounced aloud and publicly. Each judgment and each decision must give the motives and the reasons according to law upon which they are based. Judges exercising judicial power are irremovable. Justice is dispensed in the name of the King. Judges may not be despoiled of their rank nor deprived of their posts against their will, save in virtue of the judgment of the regular courts, or of a disciplinary condemnation by Court of Cassation. They cannot be held responsible before the law for acts which they have accomplished as judges, without the authorization of the Court of Cassation; they cannot be replaced without their written consent. Judges may not be retired against their wish, save in cases where they have passed the age of sixty, or have accomplished forty years of public service, or when they are attacked by bodily or intellectual infirmity which will not allow them to exercise their judicial functions. In this last case, however, a judge can only be retired with the approval of the Court of Cassation.

Such are the arrangements that the Constitution has prescribed relating to the judicial power in Servia, and also the prerogatives guaranteed by the Constitution to the judges—organs of judicial power which have as a result the guarantee of the independence of judicial action, and of the conviction of the judges in the application of the law. But in order that the action of the judicial power may rise completely to its highest standard, a Constitution and special laws relating to judges define what qualities the judges should possess. In order to become a judge in Servia, one must possess the rights of citizenship, fulfil the general conditions demanded for State service, and have finished the course of law in a Servian or foreign University. In order to be a judge in the superior court, it is necessary, besides this, to have spent either in the judicial service, or as a lawyer, or as a professor of law, the number of years exactly laid down by the Constitution. In order to place the independence of the judges beyond the influence of the administrative power, the Constitution has established election as the means of filling vacancies in the courts of all instances. The method is as follows: The judges of the courts of the first instance are chosen from a list of candidates proposed by the Minister of Justice, assisted by the President of the Courts of Cassation and Appeal. This list must contain at least twice the number of candidates for the number of vacant posts. The presidents of the courts of the first instance are chosen from two lists, of which one is proposed by

the Court of Cassation, and the other by the Court of Appeal. The presidents and the judges of the Courts of Cassation and of Appeal are also elected from two lists, of which one is proposed by the Council of State, and the other by the Court of Cassation. In each of the lists of candidates there must be twice as many as there are places vacant. The same candidates may appear in one or two lists. The King appoints all the judges upon the proposal of the Minister of Justice, choosing them from amongst the candidates proposed, as explained above.

In order to give a material basis for the independence of the judge's position, and in order to insure a life free from care, the law has prescribed for them the following remuneration: The President of the Court of Cassation, who has the right of a member of the Council of State, receives 10,000 francs yearly; the President of the Court of Appeal 8,000 francs, and at the end of a period of four years 8,500 francs; to judges of the Court of Cassation 7,000 francs, at the end of a period of four years 8,000 francs; the judges of the Court of Appeal 5,000 francs, at the end of a period of four years 6,000 francs; the president of the courts of first instance 5,000 francs, at the end of a period of four years 6,000 francs; judges of courts of the first instance 3,000 francs, and after each period of three years an increase of 500 francs, until their salary reaches the maximum of 5,000 francs per annum.

Notwithstanding the irresponsibility and the irremovability which are guaranteed to him by the Constitution, a judge does not enjoy immunity for crimes and misdemeanours which he may commit in the exercise of his functions, and is not protected from pecuniary responsibility, if in the exercise of his functions he has prejudiced the interests of private people by his own fault. In such cases complaint against the judge may be made to the Court of Cassation either directly or through the intermediary of the Ministry of Justice. The Court of Cassation, after examination of the complaint, decides if it be necessary for the judge to be judged. This decision is never taken by the Court save after having had the written reply of the judge to the complaint made against him. In the case of an affirmative decision, the Court of Cassation indicates at the same time amongst the ordinary courts that one before which the judge in question should be tried. These arrangements for the responsibility of judges for illegal acts committed by them in the exercise of their function constitute an excellent guarantee for the honest administration of justice. They assist in strengthening the judicial independence and the stability of the judges, and cannot fail to create full confidence in the regular application of the law. We may say with pride

of the kingdom of Servia and of its tribunal: *Justitia regnorum fundamentum.*

The Ministry of Justice is placed at the head of all the institutions of judicial service as supreme administrative authority in everything concerning justice. At its head is the Minister of Justice, member of the Royal Government, responsible for the affairs of his department. The foundation of this Ministry as an organized administration rests upon the Law of Central Administration of the 29th of May, 1839. For some time the affairs of public instruction were joined to the Ministry of Justice. The organization of this Ministry has undergone various changes, of which the most important has been mentioned before—the division into two sections of administrative and judicial. The present organization of the Ministry of Justice rests upon the Law of Central Administration of the country of the 10th of March, 1862. The principal functions of the Ministry according to this law are: (1) To supervise all the administrations which dispense justice, and see that they keep within the limits of the law and efficiently fulfil their duty. (2) To work towards the perfecting of justice and towards a rational organization of judicial administration; to impart instruction for the rapid and sure conduct of cases, but always without changing or amending in this the prescriptions of the law or limiting the independence of justice. (3) To see that the judgments are carried out as they are given. (4) To make propositions to the King with regard to pardoning those condemned. (5) To supervise the good organization of penitentiary establishments. (6) To arrange and publish the collection of laws and regulations.

The Minister of Justice has also the duty of controlling the work of all the courts, which report to him every three months upon the cases and upon the actual number of those detained in the prisons of the courts, as well as statistics upon all the work of the courts. These statistics are sent to the State Statistical Bureau. He also exercises control over all the sections of his service and the conduct of his employés. He makes proposals to the King as he thinks fit, and takes into account those qualities required by law, for the nomination of judges and presidents of all the courts, of secretaries, and minor officials of the courts, from amongst those candidates who have been chosen according to the conditions of the Constitution and the law. The Minister alone is responsible for the appointment of the other employés of the offices. He may refer judges to the Court of Cassation for misdemeanours committed in the exercise of their functions, and other functionaries to the Council of State, which is the disciplinary court for State employés (Constitution, Article 44, Section 5).

Since the Minister of Justice should know better than anybody the defects of the different laws, he has amongst his powers the preparation of new projects of law, principally those which concern the judicial service. These projects are prepared either by the Ministry itself, or by Commissions the members of which are elected and nominated by the Minister of Justice. In the Budget of the State for 1905 there appears a special credit for the work of these Commissions, which are to be charged with the work of preparing a new commercial code, civil and criminal judicial procedure, and also with the preparation of the materials for a new civil and criminal court. The Minister of Justice controls the profession of a lawyer in Servia. The practice of this profession was first regulated by the Law of the 28th of February, 1862, then by that of the 15th of June, 1865, which is in force to-day. According to this law, lawyers are nominated by the Minister of Justice for those departments which they choose themselves. They must be possessed of a legal degree, and comply with all the conditions required by law. The Minister of Justice is the keeper of the Seals of State; it is he who attaches them upon the laws in the name of the King.

In Servia justice is dispensed according to positive codified laws, drawn up in conformity with the character and juridical feeling of the Servian people in accordance with the principles and state of judicial science at the period when the various laws were created.

The Civil Code was promulgated on the 25th of March, 1844, and its 950 paragraphs, with their amendments, cover the whole of private rights. It was drawn up for the most part on the model of the general Civil Code of Austria of 1811. But it contains also many original clauses, particularly regarding family rights and the law of inheritance. These clauses have been inserted because of national customs, because of family and Zadruga conditions, and the manner in which the people regard the right of men and women to inherit. In its other sections, especially those relating to the law of property, of positions, of servitudes, of contracts in general, and special sorts of contracts, etc., the Civil Code of Servia has embodied —although by an indirect intermediary—Roman law, and has therefore in a measure the same basis as the other European Civil Codes of private law.

The first law in the direction of civil judicial procedure was passed on the 21st of October, 1853, and was later replaced by that of the 12th February, 1860. The civil procedure in force to-day was established by the Law of the 20th of February, 1865. This date is also that of the Law for the Organization of Courts of Appeal and Cassation. The judicial procedure

contains 523 paragraphs, of which many have been amended and altered. The fundamental principle of this law is that without pleading there can be no judgment. This code regulates the competence of all courts, prescribes the procedure, instruction, and judgment of the first instance, and of the superior instances, and assures the credit and the execution of judgment. With the exception of the pleadings, the reply, and the appeal, the procedure is generally oral; the taking of evidence is public. A new project of law dealing with the execution of sentences, and destined to replace in this respect the present clauses of the civil procedure, has been submitted to the legislative body. This project has been drawn up after the most perfect codes dealing with these questions.

The Criminal Court dates from the 28th of March, 1860. Criminal acts are divided into three categories: crimes, misdemeanours, and contraventions. The Prussian Criminal Court of 1853 was taken as model. Amongst the 396 paragraphs which form this Code in Servia, a great number have been modified and enlarged in the course of recent years. The punishments which are pronounced by virtue of this Code are the following: Penalty of death (by shooting); forced labour (of which the duration may not extend beyond twenty years); detention (from two to twenty years); imprisonment (from thirty days to five years); the deprivation of duties; the loss of civil rights; the confiscation of the instruments of the criminal (which are the result or the instrument of the crime, or are intended for that purpose—here it is a question of the instruments of the criminal or of direct accomplices); the interdiction (permanent or temporary) of the exercise of a profession; expulsion (the interdiction of living in a certain place for a maximum period of two years); police surveillance (with regard to those condemned for theft, brigandage and complicity, and arson).

The four last punishments, as well as generally police surveillance, are not inflicted separately or in combination, other than as accessory and additional punishments to the others enumerated above, and only in cases specially designated by the law. The clauses relating to temptation, complicity, circumstances which excuse or diminish the punishment, extenuating and aggravating circumstances, prescription—all these resemble very closely the principles adopted in up-to-date criminal law. The clauses dealing with the various acts in the Servian Code are generally identical with those in the Code which has been used as a model.

The Code of Judicial Criminal Procedure, which dates from the 10th of April, 1865, contains 358 paragraphs, and lays down the regulations concerning the taking of evidence and

the judgment of crimes and misdemeanours. Nobody can be condemned and punished for any act whatsoever until this act has been proved and judged according to the regulations established by this Code. The Code is partly devoted to the theory of evidence, and partly to that of accusation. In order to establish the proof of a fact, it employs a system of proof regulated and determined with precision as far as concerns the composition of the proofs. The person accused of the crime must have a defender before the court in the principal proceedings. For other guilty ones this right is facultative. While there is a lively discussion in modern legislation on the question of the participation of the defendant in the preliminary inquiry, such participation has been recognized in principle in Servia by Article 153 of the Constitution. The constitutional clause stipulating that nobody may be judged by a judge who is not competent receives its fulfilment by the prescriptions of the criminal procedure, which regulate the competence of the powers of investigation and of the judicial authorities.

The procedure is divided into three parts: (1) Preliminary examination by the police; (2) judicial examination; (3) trial before the court. This is public, and guarantees the authoritative conduct of the whole proceeding. Judgments of the first instance may be made the object of an appeal to the Court of Appeal, and of reference to the Court of Cassation. Only sentences of death are submitted to the superior tribunal, and by the Minister of Justice to the King, with a view to eventual pardon. The Code also contains the regulations for the carrying out of judgment in criminal cases, and the regulations relative to the renewal of examination and judgment in criminal cases.

The Police Regulations, which date from the 18th of May, 1850, and were amended in 1873, 1876, and 1904, lay down the procedure for crimes which are judged by the communal courts or by the police, and for which the courts of the first instance have the power of revision.

The jury is an ancient Slav juridical institution, notably Servian, which existed in the 13th and 14th centuries, and which found a place in the celebrated Code of the Tsar Dushan in the year 1349. In the new Servian State the jury was instituted for the first time by the Law of the 21st of October, 1871, which was replaced by that of the 31st of March, 1892. According to the law in force at present, the jury only judges the following crimes and misdemeanours: Theft with violence, acts of brigandage, arson, damage or destruction of things or Antrui of value above 100 francs. The jurors judge according to their convictions and knowledge of the affair, and may return a verdict only of 'Guilty' or 'Not guilty' to the accusa-

tion, while the application of the law is reserved for the court which pronounces judgment upon the act, and eventually decides the punishment and damages. One may appeal to the Court of Cassation against the judgments and decisions of the Court of Jury, but this complaint can only concern the former side of the affair, and the procedure of the quarter of assizes. It cannot touch the value of the proofs. If the law has been wrongly applied by a jury's decision, the Court of Cassation annuls the sentence, and sends it back to the tribunal with its observations, in order that they shall bring in another judgment.

The Commercial Code dates from the 16th of January, 1860, and is composed of two parts. The first part deals with merchants, business books, commercial societies, commission agents, export agents, transport agents, as well as the means of proving commercial affairs. The second part deals with bills of exchange. The two parts of the Code were almost entirely drawn from the French Commercial Code. However, in the part devoted to bills of exchange there are clauses borrowed from the general law of exchange in force in Germany until the appearance of the new Commercial Code. The clauses of the Commercial Code relating to companies (31 to 38 and 41 to 44) have been replaced by a new law.

The Company Law was sanctioned on the 10th of December, 1896. It is based on the principles of modern company legislation, and lays down in 106 Articles the necessary regulations for the development of this form of association, commercial or financial. There exist, also, two laws dealing with industrial property that may be considered under the heading of private law: the Law for the Protection of Industrial and Trade Marks (the 30th of May, 1884, with 36 Articles), and the Law for the Protection of Samples and Patterns (the 30th of May, 1884, with 34 Articles), coinciding almost absolutely with the legislation of other European States in this respect. They were made necessary by the commercial treaties of Servia, Germany, and Austro-Hungary, and it is principally foreign merchants in Servia who benefit by the protection of their products against the competition and imitation of their own country. The number of trade-marks and patterns of Servian origin covered by the law is insignificant. In 1885 the Minister of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry, published a special regulation dealing with the carrying out of these laws. It must be noticed here that Servia has adhered to the Convention of Paris of the 20th of March, 1883, for the protection of industrial property—a convention which guarantees the rights of priority, of patterns, of samples, and of trade-marks, according to the conditions of Article 4.

The Law of Public Exchanges, promulgated in 1886, has as an object the encouragement of the trade of the country, and allows of the formation, with the authorization of the Minister of Commerce, of exchanges for goods, money, and bonds. The transactions on the Exchange are according to law, and are such as are concluded in the public hall of the Exchange, and relate to all articles of commerce which can be dealt in and quoted on the Exchange in question. The business of the Exchange is considered as commercial business. Special statutes were made for the foundation of the Belgrade Exchange, the only one which exists in Servia at present.

The Law of Procedure in Bankruptcy dates from the 17th of March, 1861, and must therefore be reckoned amongst the older legislative works. In 155 paragraphs the formal and actual law of bankruptcy are dealt with, taking as a model the old Austrian law. The clauses upon obligatory agreement, completed in 1876, were founded upon the Austrian law of 1868. Commissions composed of specialists who have been occupied during several years in the Ministry of Justice have drawn up a new project of law for bankruptcy, which contains the principles of the most modern legislation, and provides for a prompt regulation of bankrupts' possessions and a speedy satisfaction to creditors. Also the clauses dealing with the juridical actions of the creditors before the bankruptcy are carefully drawn up. There has also been drawn up a project of law dealing with transactions outside of the bankruptcy. These two projects have also been studied by the Council of State, which possesses, under the Constitution, the right of examining laws before they are submitted to the legislative body, and they will soon be presented to the National Assembly.

The Mining Law (15th of April, 1865) and the Law of Rivers and their Use (26th of December, 1878) may be included in this survey of the Law of Individuals, since they influence it in a certain measure.

Finally, the Law of Taxation of the 6th of December, 1896, is applied to all the codes and laws mentioned above. It must be noted that the Servian legislation with regard to private law has existed for fifty or sixty years, and that during this time the national life, social condition, and economic relations have been much changed and improved. Juridical science has also in many respects advanced new principles and new rules. In order to satisfy the actual needs arising from this progress, the Ministry of Justice has asked for the necessary credits for a new qualification of the Civil and Penal Codes, and of the procedures relative to these, as well as to the Commercial Code. The legislative body has already voted this

credit. The preparation of these different codes will be confided to special Commissions of jurists, who, with the least possible delay, will follow a course of work already marked out in the Ministry of Justice.

Communal courts exist in each autonomous commune, town or country. They are composed of the President of the Commune, or his representatives, and two assistants; there is also a greffier. They deal with cases where the amount at stake does not exceed 200 francs, also in cases of *créances immobilières*, or bills of exchange, not exceeding 100 francs in value, excepting such as relate to succession and rural servitude. They are able to form arbitral courts together with the parties interested, having obtained their consent, for cases of the above value. The accusation in the communal courts are either oral or written, but the defence is only oral. The courts interrogate publicly the parties and the witnesses, examine the case simply, and at once give a verbal and public judgment, acting upon the proofs brought forward. They themselves carry out their judgments, save such as relate to removable property. Sentences up to a value of 20 francs are to be immediately carried out. Judgments are registered, and a written copy of them must be given to the parties at issue if they pay the necessary costs. In those cases specified by law an appeal may be made against the judgment of these courts within a period of eight years.

There exist the following State courts of the first instance: Twenty-one departmental courts of the first instance, one in each department; the court of the first instance in the town of Belgrade; the Commercial Court of Belgrade. Judgments are given in the courts of the first instance by three judges, assisted by a greffier. The more important departmental courts possess a greater number of judges and several sections. In the Commercial Court the judgments are always given by the president, assisted by a State judge and by three judges belonging to the commercial class, who are elected for one year (six ordinary judges and six substitutes). The competence of the courts of the first instance in civil cases is either personal, according to the domicile of the accused, or material, when the amount in dispute exceeds 200 francs, and for *créances immobilières*, or bills of exchange, when it is a question of a greater sum than a 100 francs. Also, for articles which cannot be valued, with the exception of rural servitude. In criminal affairs they judge all the crimes and misdemeanours at ordinary courts or at courts of assize. The Commercial Court is competent for the town of Belgrade and the five divisions of the department of Belgrade in all matters to which the law has given a commercial nature. A special organiza-

tion exists which was granted to the court by the Law of the 12th of December, 1859.

In the other departments where there is no Commercial Court the parties interested in any commercial case may ask for the substitution of a commercial judge for a State judge. Twelve such commercial judges are elected for a term of one year, as is the case in the Commercial Court of Belgrade. The courts of the first instance of the department and of the town of Belgrade are also courts for cases of *curatelle*. This function is exercised by a special judge, chosen from amongst the personnel of the court, and appointed by royal ukase on the recommendation of the Minister of Justice. The courts are competent to deal with bankruptcies in the case of a lack of agreement amongst the creditors (in addition to the Commercial Court, for merchants who are otherwise placed under its jurisdiction). They are the court of mortgage for their district. The mortgage books are kept and stored in the court-houses. In civil affairs the courts constitute the second instance for arbitral courts, and the second and last instance for appeals against the sentences of the communal courts. In questions of contraventions they are also the second and last instance for appeals against the decisions of the communal courts and the police authority. Each court has its special budget.

The Court of Appeal, as a court of second instance, has competence in the following civil cases: Where the valued estate cannot be estimated; where the value is about 420 francs; against the decisions of the *curateur* judge. In criminal cases it is competent for all cases in which the accused has been sentenced to a punishment, if the appeal has been made by the accused or by the public prosecutor. It examines without appeal judgments in which the case of death has been pronounced. The Court of Appeal is at Belgrade, and is the only one for all Servia. There are two sections, and the judgments are given by five judges, assisted by a clerk of the court. When judgments or sentences are submitted to the Court of Appeal for examination, it may approve them or send them back to the lower court, in order to complete the sentence or make a new examination if it be necessary, in which case the lower court does not give a new sentence, but sends to the Court of Appeal first with the complementary examination. If, however, the Court of Appeal finds that the lower court has not correctly appreciated the evidence or other circumstances, or that the sentence has been given contrary to the law, it will itself pronounce a new sentence.

The Court of Cassation, which is at Belgrade, is the court of the third and last instance for all Servia. It consists of three sections, each composed of five judges. The Court of

Cassation is competent in civil cases for the examination of all the courts of first instance; the decisions and resolutions of the Court of Accounts in so far as this is the State Court of Accounts; the judgments of the courts of the first instance for which the Court of Appeal is not competent, as well as all the judgments of the Court of Appeal. In criminal cases the court examines all the final sentences and decisions of the lower courts, but only when so requested, save in cases of death sentence, in which it acts *ex officio*, without any request having been formulated. New proofs are not admitted in an appeal. The rulings of the Court of Cassation with regard to decisions of the lower tribunals are binding upon those courts. Against such judgments the lower courts may bring forward adverse arguments, which will be considered by the Court of Cassation in full sitting. Besides these courts, there are also certain special courts. Arbitral courts, save in cases laid down by law, depend upon the agreement of the parties to an action, but their composition and procedure are fixed by law also, the Court of Exchanges dealing with the cases arising out of financial transaction.

All of the State courts have judicial vacations (from the 16th of June to the 31st of July), during which the judges sitting in the courts of the first instance only deal with certain urgent affairs, while their decisions are examined in the Court of Cassation by a special section composed of three judges.

Besides the above courts, there are also in Servia ecclesiastical courts and military courts. The former are under the control of the Minister of Public Instruction, the latter under that of the Ministry of War.

There exist in Servia penitentiary establishments at Belgrade, Pojarevats, and Nish, where those condemned execute their sentences of forced labour, imprisonment, or reclusion. These establishments are under the control of the Ministry of Justice. In 1905 the budget for their maintenance amounted to 469,994 francs. The oldest of these penitentiary establishments is at Belgrade, which was founded in 1851 as an agricultural penitentiary, and which received its present organization by the ministerial regulations of 1868. It is devoted to prisoners condemned to forced labour or imprisonment with hard labour. The establishment is divided into two sections, one of which is situated in the fortress of Belgrade, where the prisoners are confined in sixteen places, and the other at Topchider. All prisoners under age are confined in a special portion of the second section, whatever the sentence which they are undergoing. Such prisoners are separated from the other prisoners, and there is a special school for them, in which the priest of the prison teaches them to read and to write, as well as arith-

metic and religious instruction. They are also taught to cultivate the ground, and to make wooden utensils. Special care is devoted to their moral instruction. In the section at Topchider the adult prisoners are employed on the work of the model farm and of the State domain situated in this neighbourhood.

The Belgrade prison is furnished with a special factory for the employment of the prisoners. Here the trades of carpentering, turning, smiths' work, wheelwrights' work, the making of barrels, locksmiths' work, are practised. A certain portion of the results of the sale of goods thus manufactured belongs to the prisoners, who use it for their personal needs, with the permission of the head of the prison. The work is executed for the State or for private individuals. Many prisoners, after having remained for a considerable time in the factory, leave the prison with a complete knowledge of a trade, thus possessing an assured means of livelihood. Some of the prisoners of the Belgrade prison are employed in agricultural works in the State domains of Ljubitchevo and Dobritchevo. In February, 1905, the head of the Belgrade prison founded a library for the prisoners, which grew in several weeks to 2,000 works, thanks to the gifts of benevolent individuals.

The second prison was founded at Pojarevats in 1865, and is devoted to men sentenced to imprisonment, as well as to women sentenced either to imprisonment or forced labour. The men are housed in a special building which formerly served as a barracks; the women occupy a building constructed in 1875. The two sections are under the direction of the same head of the prison, whilst the women's section is also under the supervision of a woman, among whose duties is that of teaching women's trades to the prisoners.

The prison of Nish was founded in 1878, when the territory of Servia was increased by four new departments after the war, and when the increase in the number of prisoners made such a new establishment necessary. The prison at Nish is reserved for men condemned to forced labour or imprisonment in the four departments annexed to Servia in 1878. The prisoners are confined in certain buildings of the fortress. They are employed in public works outside the prison, or in a workshop which has been specially established for them for the carrying on of different trades.

There are special regulations relating to penitentiary establishments which deal with the questions of internal discipline, food, duties of heads of prisons and gaolers, of chaplains and teachers, of inspectors, and other employés, as well as affairs relating to the hospital. On the 15th of February, 1905,

there were confined in all the prisons a total of 2,756 prisoners, including both men and women, while there were employed 125 warders.

Since 1898 there is a law dealing with the conditional setting at liberty of prisoners confined in the prisons. Prisoners may be freed before having completed their sentence or receiving pardon in the following cases: If they have been sentenced to more than two years' imprisonment with hard labour or of forced labour, or more than twelve months' imprisonment; if, during their confinement in the prison, their conduct is such as to lead to the belief that they have altered their way of life; if, before their sentence, they were hard-working; or if their family or other circumstances lead to the certain belief that they will live honestly and comport themselves suitably when liberated. Conditional liberation can, however, never be granted before the prisoner has finished half his sentence, or two-thirds if he is undergoing a second imprisonment. Conditional liberation is the result of the deliberation and decision of a Commission specially nominated by the Minister of Justice from among the judges of the higher Court. There are special regulations governing this. This conditional liberation continues as long as the individual thus set free behaves well, and as long as his sentence has not come to an end, unless he be pardoned during the period of his conditional liberation. The conditional liberation is ended, and the prisoner is returned to the prison in order to complete his sentence, if his conduct is not satisfactory, especially if he has committed the smallest crime, if he is suspected with good reason, if he lives without working, or if there is a doubt that his means of existence are honestly come by. The conditional liberation is also annulled if the prisoner frequents bad company or people who have undergone sentences for crimes, and continues to frequent them despite the remonstrances of the authorities; or if he changes his residence without the authorization of the police. When a prisoner who has enjoyed conditional freedom is brought back to prison, such time as he has passed outside as a freed man is not reckoned in the term of his sentence. Such are the principal conditions of the law of conditional liberation of prisoners. Since it came into force it has given good results, and only a very small proportion of those thus conditionally freed have been sent back to prison in order to continue their sentence.

At the present moment the Ministry of Justice is actively working towards the creation of a modern prison which, acting upon the advice of special commissions nominated to study the question, will be established on the Irish system. The site has already been chosen, surveyed, and allotted. It com-

prises twenty hectares for all the prison buildings, and sixty hectares of land for agricultural work. The establishment will be constructed from the funds allotted to the construction of prisons, funds which receive half of the results of the work of the prisons, and all economies realized upon the maintenance of those detained during judicial examination, as well as the sums paid for the employment of prisoners in handicrafts. In this way a serious need will be filled, and an institution will be created which will largely contribute to the correction of criminals. These, morally regenerated, may again be useful to that society which has been forced to exclude them from their midst for a period in order to make them expiate their fault. Servia will, at the same time, in this way be fulfilling a duty towards the civilization imposed upon her as a civilized State—a position to which she holds with all her energy, and with the greatest and most unanimous desire for progress.

CHAPTER VIII

EDUCATION

BY THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION

THERE has been a full recognition of the supreme value to the country of education in its most modern sense. This is the only foundation upon which the future of the nation can safely rest. The whole of the educational system is frankly national, and tends to keep alive all the feelings and ideals of the Servian race which were formerly called into constant use by war and attack, within and without. The school to-day plays a most important part in national development; school-teachers are among the best paid of officials; while from amongst the professors the majority of the members of the various cabinets are chosen. The younger generations are most eager to learn; there is very little, if any, need to force them to the schools. It is a compulsory educational system, where the only compulsion is keeping scholars away when there is no accommodation for them.

The whole of the education system of Servia is placed under the Ministry of Public Instruction (*Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et des Cultes*). The organization of this Ministry was settled on the 14th of January, 1880, and covers the following ground: The direction, in conformity with the laws, of all public instruction in the kingdom of Servia; the good supervision and the advancement of general and special instruction; the exercise of control over all public and private schools, over literary and learned societies, as well as over establishments of instruction, save such as are placed under the direction of another Ministry by special laws. This Ministry in certain cases also possesses the direction according to law, of all ecclesiastical affairs which are not the special charge of the episcopal assembly or the different Bishops—in all cases in consultation with the episcopal assembly. The Ministry of Education also controls religious affairs, religious institutions and establishments, other than those of the State religion. It supervises the maintenance of order in establish-

ments for instruction, in institutions and in religious houses of all creeds. This Ministry is divided into two sections—that of public instruction (teaching schools and school literature) and that of public worship. At the head of the Ministry is the Minister. It is he who gives orders and who signs all decisions and documents of his department. Should it be necessary, he designates higher officials of the Ministry to take his place to this extent, as the law itself does not authorize these officials to conduct certain matters of secondary importance as representatives of the Minister. There are attached to the Ministry two special institutions—the Council of Public Education, which gives to the Minister deliberate advice upon all questions specified by law, or which the Minister sends specially to the Council for study, for preparation, for report, or for approval; and the Permanent Jury of Examinations, which examines those candidates who come up for examination as professors in secondary schools and normal schools. The Ministry of Education publishes a monthly journal, called the *Provetni Glasnik*, which is its official organ. This paper has scientific and pedagogic sections, as well as official.

The educational development of the various lands inhabited by Servians is uneven, and there is no doubt that in this respect the kingdom of Servia stands first, although the country has been free only some hundred years. The total sum expended in 1904 by the State on education was 5,447,769 francs, besides which the communal authorities had also an educational expenditure.

The object of the common schools is the education of children in national sentiment, their preparation for the life of citizens, and especially the spread of instruction amongst the people by teaching them to read and write in the Servian language. There are three classes of common schools—infant schools, primary schools, and higher primary schools. The course of study in the primary schools is for six years, of which four are compulsory. The schools are free, and may be either boys', girls', or mixed schools. The infants' schools take children from the age of four to seven years. The higher primary schools are established in such places as have primary schools which do not include the fifth and sixth classes, and the courses last three winters, in order not to interfere with the course of life and work. These schools may be under the district authorities, and attached to the district agricultural institution; in this case the instruction is principally agricultural. There may be common schools in the towns, possessing a course of education largely industrial and commercial; in this case the course is for two years. These schools are the first serious effort in Servia to give to the population special

education suited to their special needs in after-life. In this the agricultural schools are naturally the most vital, and also successful. School buildings are erected by the communes, which must also furnish the furniture and school materials. Poor communes which have to construct a school receive assistance from the district, the department, and the State authorities.

The school year commences on the 1st of September, and is ended by a formal examination, which must be completed between the 1st and 29th of June. There are holidays at Christmas and Easter for ten days, on Sundays and feast-days, as well as the afternoon of Thursday. The school authorities have the right to grant to the pupils of the higher classes holidays of seven days twice a year. The time at which the optional holidays take place depends upon the conditions of the needs of the national work in the different localities. The Minister of Education has the right to permit the reduction of the hours of instruction in different classes to a half-day, upon the proposal of a departmental school council.

The following subjects are taught in the primary schools: Christian religion, Servian language, and reading of ecclesiastical Slav; geography and history; arithmetic and geometry; study of Nature and agriculture (for boys); house-work (for girls); handicrafts, drawing, and penmanship; singing; gymnastic exercise and games. The curriculum for the first to the fourth classes was established in 1899, that of the fifth and sixth classes in 1904. There exist only five fifth classes—two at Belgrade, one at Obrenovats, one at Pojarevats, and one at Prokouplie. At Pojarevats this fifth class is a class for girls, the others being for boys. Up to the school year of 1904-1905 there existed no sixth classes.

In order to enter the first class of the primary school the children of towns must have reached the age of six years completed, while those of the country must be aged twelve years. Boys who are older than eleven and girls over ten cannot enter the first class. The marks obtained by the scholars in the different subjects, as well as their conduct, are entered into a book twice a year—in the first half of January, and between the 1st and 29th of October. It is not the teacher, but the school inspector or a Ministerial inspector, who decides the transfer of scholars into a higher class. This is decided at the school inspection at the end of the year, taking into account the results achieved by the scholar in the various subjects, as well as his aptitude and his diligence. At the end of the school year a public and formal examination takes place in the presence of the school inspector or the Ministerial

inspector and the school committee. Prizes are distributed on this occasion to such scholars as merit them.

The teachers are permanent or provisional. In the boys' and mixed schools the teaching is in the hands of men, in girls' schools in that of women teachers. Should there be a shortage of masters, the two lowest classes of the mixed schools and of the boys' schools may be conducted by mistresses. In the infants' schools the education of the children is in the hands of special mistresses. The permanent masters or mistresses must be Servian subjects, must have finished the course of philosophy or the normal school for teachers, and have passed the teachers' examination. At the end of two years they can undergo a practical examination in pedagogy. If they have not passed this examination, they can receive no increase of salary. When they have passed it, they are sure of an increase of salary, and a pension after the maximum terms of five years' service. In default of properly accredited candidates, provisional masters or mistresses may be nominated from such as have finished the course of the teachers' school, without having passed the final examination, or those who have passed through a secondary school or the ecclesiastical seminary; or, again, those who have finished the course of philosophy as special students, or have passed with the highest marks through the higher school for girls. These provisional teachers may become permanent if they pass the teachers' examination with a special programme after two years' provisional service.

In order to become a mistress of an infant school, it is necessary to have completed at least four classes of the secondary school, or all the classes of the higher school for girls; to have been prepared during two years for this service in the special section of the school for mistresses, or a similar school abroad, and to have passed a special examination. Special courses are organized at the expense of the State to enable the teachers to perfect themselves in the science and practice of teaching.

The commencing salary of a permanent master is 800 francs per annum. The two first increases occur at the end of the first two five-year periods of service; the others after four years. At the beginning of his twenty-seventh year of service the master receives a salary of 3,000 francs. When he has completed thirty-two years' service, the master may be retired with a pension equal to his salary. Masters who are still able to fulfil their duties after thirty-two years' service receive a further increase of 300 francs, but this does not affect the amount of their pension. A permanent mistress receives a commencing salary of 800 francs annually; increases are granted under the same conditions as to length of service as in

the case of masters, so that at the beginning of her twenty-seventh year of service she receives a salary of 2,550 francs; after thirty-two years of service completed she may be retired with a pension equal to her salary. For work after thirty-two years of service the mistress receives an equal increase with the master.

In communes where the school does not afford living-room for the master, and where it is not possible to provide him with a lodging at the maximum distance of 500 yards from the school, the masters receive from the commune a grant for lodging and fuel, which varies from 80 to 30 francs per month. The lodging of a master must comprise at least two chambers, a kitchen, and the necessary outhouses.

The posts of teachers vacant are awarded by competition. The choice of candidates is made by a commission, which proposes two candidates for each place, one of which is nominated by the Minister. The positions in the towns are given to teachers who have already received at least one increase of salary; those of the leading towns of departments are given to teachers having received two increases; while to obtain a post in Belgrade candidates must have received three increases. Preference is given in granting the best posts to those teachers of good family, and who have distinguished themselves by the good maintenance of their schools and by their writings. Provisional masters and mistresses receive a salary of 600 francs, with lodging and fuel free. Masters and mistresses who work in addition to their ordinary school duties at additional courses, or who teach reading and writing to at least six illiterate adults, receive a special grant at the end of the school year. This is also true of those who occupy posts of particular difficulty. The mistresses of infant schools receive an initial salary of 600 francs. Each four years they receive an increase of 150 francs, so that at the end of the twenty-ninth year of service they are receiving 1,650 francs, a sum which they receive as pension after thirty-five years of service. They have also free fuel and lodging, or a special grant for this purpose. The salaries, pension, rewards, and cost of removals due to teachers are paid out of the State Budget.

Teachers are forbidden to engage in any other profession out of keeping with their employment as educators. Should they wish to fulfil regular duties other than those of teaching, they must ask permission from the school inspector, or from the Minister of Education. The conduct of teachers and their work are judged by the inspector, or by officials from the Ministry. The marks for work are 'Excellent,' 'Satisfactory,' and 'Unsatisfactory.' These marks are entered in the class-book and in the personal livret. That the view taken of the field of activity of the teacher is very extended may be gathered

from the fact that there are also entered other necessary indications, such as the regularity in school-work, the vigilance and the good-will in the carrying out of duty, success in instruction and teaching, causes of failure, collaboration given to literary institutions or public education, behaviour in the family and in society, a change of post, increases of salary, long holidays, etc. Years in which the teacher has received the mark 'Unsatisfactory' are not counted in reckoning up the periods for increase of salary. A teacher who is not satisfied with the note of the inspector may complain to the Minister within fifteen days. The Minister, in such a case, may order a new inspection, and appoint the person to conduct it. If the note is not improved, the cost of the second revision falls upon the teacher. A teacher who has twice received the note 'Unsatisfactory' may be removed to another post as a punishment, without any allowance for the cost of removal.

The direct and local control and the working of the schools are exercised by the director (in places where there are several teachers) and by the local school committee. In each separate school where there are one or more teachers (male or female) the Minister appoints one of them as director, and where there is only one teacher he himself exercises the duties of director. The director receives from the commune an annual payment of 150 francs if the school contains six teachers, and of 96 francs if the school has at least three. In important matters touching the internal organization of the whole of a school of considerable size decisions are taken by the council of teachers composed of all the teachers of the school. For outside affairs there exists a local school committee, composed of the president of the commune in which is situated the school, the director of the school, or the teacher and three educated citizens. Similarly there exists a departmental school committee for all the schools of a department, composed of the prefect, the inspectors of the department schools, the teachers or the director of the secondary school in the capital of the department, the arch-priest of the department, the leading medical officer of the department, the departmental engineer, the director of the primary school of the department, and a delegate from each district chosen by the district assembly for one year. Internal matters tending towards the improvement of the teaching and the perfecting of the masters are in the competence of the departmental assembly of teachers, which is composed of all the masters and mistresses who are under the control of the same school inspector.

By the creation of school inspectors (26th of July, 1898) the regular inspection of schools by professional officials was first instituted. This regular control, however, could not be successfully carried out, because there were not sufficient men

fitted to exercise it. The Law of the 19th of April, 1904, suppressed the school inspectors, and now the teachers are judged at the end of the year by officials sent by the Minister, who are present at the examination in the month of June, and on the completion of their test send to the Minister a report upon the schools which they have thus examined. This is the same supervision as was exercised before the Law of 1898. Those sent by the Minister may be professors of secondary schools, or teachers chosen by the Minister from a list of candidates drawn up by the Council of Public Instruction. They receive 15 francs per day and the expenses of the journey.

There were in the school year of 1903-1904 1,263 primary schools. There were 98 boys' schools and 70 girls' schools—a total of 168 schools—in the towns, and 995 boys' schools and 100 girls' schools—a total of 1,095 schools—in the villages. In these schools there were 1,349 masters and 856 mistresses, a total teaching staff of 2,205. These were distributed as follows: 545 teachers (228 masters and 287 mistresses) in the towns, and 1,660 in the villages (1,091 masters and 569 mistresses). All these schools were attended by 122,613 pupils, there being 95,625 boys and 26,988 girls. Of the 31,259 scholars in the towns, 19,352 were boys and 11,907 girls, while in the villages there were 76,273 boys and 15,081 girls, a total of 91,254. There were 239 higher primary schools (206 for boys, 33 for girls), in which there were 256 masters and 51 mistresses, a personnel of 307 persons. At the commencement of the school year there were 6,911 pupils attending the classes, 5,049 being boys and 862 girls. During this school year there was only one infants' school belonging to the State, with a single mistress, and about 70 children. The total expenses of the popular schools in the year 1905 amounted to 3,020,220 francs, distributed as follows: Salaries of masters, 1,769,530 francs; salaries of mistresses, 1,039,970 francs; regular increases, 50,000 francs; new posts of teachers, the opening of new class divisions and of new schools, the establishment of reading-rooms and popular libraries, 120,000 francs; grants to masters and mistresses, rewards for their work in higher primary schools and the handicraft workshop, 15,000 francs; travelling and moving expenses of masters and mistresses, 4,000 francs; travelling expenses of the officials sent by the Minister to inspect the popular schools, 21,720 francs.

Shortly after the first insurrection against the Turks there was established at Belgrade in 1808 the Great School (called thus in order to distinguish it from the small schools or primary schools). This school was at the same time a secondary school and a high school. But after the catastrophe of 1818 it disappeared with the autonomy of the State. The Great School

was opened again in 1830 after the second rising, but at the end of a much longer interval. Later, in 1833, it received the title of Gymnasium, and was transferred to Kraguyevats. The year 1839 saw the foundation of the new Gymnasium at Belgrade, and the first incomplete gymnasia (with only four classes) at Zayetchar, Tchatchak, and Shabats. Dating from this period, secondary schools have been opened in many localities; some have been closed or removed; but the total number has constantly increased. This increase reached the highest mark in the school year of 1895-1896, when there were in Servia sixteen secondary schools completely equipped, and ten incompletely. On the 10th of July, 1896, four of the incomplete gymnasia were suppressed. The Law of the 14th of July, 1893, reduced the number of complete gymnasia to five, and that of the incomplete gymnasia to six (with six and four classes). Many of the schools thus suppressed by law were replaced by private schools. Finally, after the amendment of this law on the 10th of May, 1902, the State secondary schools numbered eighteen—three at Belgrade, five complete and ten incomplete gymnasia for boys in the department—and one complete gymnasium for girls. The gymnasia at Belgrade are known under the names of the First, Second, and Third Gymnasia. The Second has attached to it a special school for the teaching of exact sciences. In the departments the towns of Zayetchar, Kraguyevats, Nish, Pojarevats, and Oujitse are equipped each with a complete gymnasium; the towns of Valjevo, Vranya, Krushevats, Negotin, Tchatchak, and Shabats have each a gymnasium with six classes, and the towns of Yagodina, Leskovats, Pirot, and Smederevo have each a gymnasium with four classes. The gymnasium for girls provided for in the law has not yet been established. Of all the secondary private schools which were opened after the Law of 1898, only one still remains open at Alexinats, possessing four classes.

The internal arrangement of these secondary schools has passed through various phases. The first scheme, with the settlement of the number of hours of instruction and the division of subjects to the different classes, was published on the 29th of January, 1845. Before then the various laws and regulations upon secondary education only settled the subjects to be taught, and the classes in which they were to be taught (without fixing the number of hours), as well as the number of classes. Each class had its professor.

The First Gymnasium contained five classes. Later, after the first school law—from 1844 to 1853—the higher gymnasium had six classes, the lower four classes. From 1853 to 1863 the higher gymnasium had seven classes, from 1863 to 1873, again,

only six classes. From 1873 to 1891 there were seven classes, while after that date they received, and still have, eight classes. The first Bachelor degree examinations were initiated in the school year of 1876-1877. The first regulations for higher education were drawn up by Ivan Yougovitch, Yovane Steria, Popovitch (1844), and Platon Simonovitch (1853). The object which they wished to obtain was to harmoniously blend the teaching which they found in foreign gymnasia with the needs of the young State. From 1863 more liberal experiments were made with the secondary schools. It was found that the early curricula, which were devoted almost exclusively to classical studies, were not producing men the most fitted for the needs of the nation. The change of the curricula from classical to modern marks one of the greatest advances made in Servian education, and the results have proved its value. The teaching of Greek was absolutely suppressed, and that of Latin reduced to a minimum. A much larger place was assigned to the Servian language, to modern foreign languages, to history, and to the exact sciences. Some attempts to transform secondary schools into purely classical gymnasia went scarcely further than a beginning, and lasted only from 1887 to 1893. By the Law of 1865, for the organization of the 'Real' schools, secondary schools were divided into 'Real' schools (of which there were two), in which later the lower classes were absorbed into the same classes of the gymnasia, and into gymnasia where the teaching of exact sciences occupied an even greater place than in the 'Realgymnasien' of Germany. After thirty years of modern practical curricula it was found safe to again allow classical studies, and the Law of 1895 introduced a sweeping reform, laying down that the middle schools could be either classical gymnasia, 'Realgymnasien,' or 'Real' schools. A classical gymnasium was at once established, and attached to the First Gymnasium of Belgrade, while a 'Real' school was added to the Second Gymnasium.

The object of the middle schools is to give higher education to the pupils, and to prepare them to enter Universities or other higher schools. Each secondary school has its special region. The commune in which it is situated gives the site, and bears the expenses of construction and the repair of the building. Private secondary schools for boys or girls may be opened if proposed by the Minister of Education, and after the approval of the Council of Ministers. All the gymnasia existing to-day in Servia are organized as 'Realgymnasien,' and closely resemble the gymnasia of this nature in Germany, but the teaching of foreign languages is begun by an oral method, while the teaching of Latin only commences from the third class. There is only one 'Real' school, and even this does not form a

separate school, but only one division of the Second Gymnasium of Belgrade. In the same way there was a classical gymnasium attached to the First Gymnasium of Belgrade, but this was closed after four years owing to a lack of pupils. While it is true that the Greek language is still taught in the 'Realgymnasien,' only a very few pupils study it, the great majority choosing French in its place when they pass into the fifth class. The curriculum established on the 1st of September, 1898, for the three varieties of secondary schools, and only slightly modified, contains the following subjects: Christian religion, Servian language, German, Latin, French or Greek, Russian (introduced in 1902), geography, history, natural history, physics, mathematics, elements of philosophy, drawing, penmanship, singing, technological chemistry, and gymnastics.

The school year of the higher schools begins on the 11th of August (O.S.), and continues until the 15th of June of the next year, terminating with a religious thanksgiving service and the school festivity. The long vacation is from the 15th of June to the 10th of August. Those at Christmas and Easter are of ten days. Further, there are no classes on Sundays and feast-days, when the masters and pupils are obliged to attend, in a given order, services in the church. The school year is divided into three terms: the first from the beginning of the school year, at latest the 20th of August to the 30th of November; the second from the 1st of December; and the third from the 1st of March to the end of the classes (the end of May or the beginning of June). At the end of the first and second term certificates of character and study are given to the pupils, which must be brought back signed by their parents or guardians, and at the end of the year the pupils receive regular school certificates. It is necessary for boys to have completed four classes of a primary school, and to have passed the entrance examination, in order to become a pupil of a secondary school. A student must not be younger than ten or older than thirteen. Students of the lower courses (first to fourth classes) pay school fees of 20 francs, those of the higher classes fees of 40 francs. Parents who pay less than 100 francs of annual taxes, or who have more than two children in the secondary schools, only pay half the school fees. Poor students who study diligently, and are of good character, are entirely exempt from these fees. The school fees are paid into a fund which is used for the purchase of school-books and books for the school library, for school materials, and also for the bestowal of scholarships upon poor pupils who have distinguished themselves in their studies and their behaviour.

The studies of the students are criticized with five remarks: 'Excellent,' 'Very good' 'Good,' 'Feeble,' and 'Bad'; their

behaviour by three: 'Exemplary,' 'Good,' and 'Mediocre.' The students pass into higher classes without examination (except those of the fourth class), according to their yearly marks. Students who have received in one or two subjects the remark 'Feeble' or 'Bad' at the end of the year must undergo examinations in these subjects at the beginning of the following school year. If they pass successfully, they are admitted into the higher class. Students who have more than two 'Feeble' marks, and those who do not pass the examinations, must pass a second time through the class. No student may remain longer than two years in the same class.

Before the Law of 1898 the coeducation of boys and girls was in practice in the departments, while in Belgrade the girls could only regularly attend the different classes by special authorization. By this law permission was given to girls already entered in secondary schools to finish their education according to the new law, but without having the right to repeat any classes. Coeducation was authorized in private secondary schools. The State has not yet opened secondary schools for girls. At the present time higher education is only given to girls by the higher schools for girls. In exceptional cases girls are authorized to regularly attend the gymnasia.

In November, 1904, there were 3,519 pupils in the complete gymnasia, and 1,827 in the incomplete, a total of 5,346, of whom 299 were preparing for the Bachelor degree.

There are the following examinations in the secondary Servian schools: The entrance examination (for admission into the first class); the examination of the lower course (held at the end of the fourth year for admission into the higher course); and the examination in the higher course, or the final examination (at the end of the eighth class). Besides these, students who have received the annual note of 'Feeble' in one or two subjects must undergo class examinations in these subjects at the commencement of the next school year. If successful, the students may pass into the higher class. The entrance examination is intended to prevent the admission into secondary schools of students who are not sufficiently prepared, or who do not give sufficient promise of success in their studies, and who thus have a bad effect upon the work of the school and the progress of the other students. This examination is devoted to the Servian language, mathematics, and Servian history. Students who fail in one of these subjects in the entrance examination do not pass, and may not take the examination a second time within the same year. Similarly, the examination in the lower course is intended to prevent the admission of unsuitable students into the higher

courses. This examination is devoted to the Servian language, German language, and mathematics in the 'Realgymnasien' and in the 'Real' schools. In the classical gymnasia the Servian, Latin, and German languages form the subjects. The examination in the Servian language is both written and oral; in the other subjects the examination is purely oral. Students who fail in any one subject in this examination do not pass, and cannot enter the higher course.

The final examination is intended to show the success with which the students have completed their studies in the secondary schools, and in what measure they are fitted to take a University course. This examination is both written and oral in the gymnasia, and is devoted to the Servian and French or German languages and mathematics, while in general and national history the examination is oral only. In the 'Real' schools the examination is written and oral in the Servian, German, or French languages, mathematics, and geometry, and oral in general and national history and physics and chemistry. Such students as obtain in the written examination marks of 'Very good' or 'Excellent' are relieved from the oral examination if the yearly notes in all the subjects for the last class have been 'Very good' or 'Excellent,' and if their conduct is exemplary. Students who fail in any subject must wait for six months, and those failing in two subjects, a year; but it is always permissible, even when a student has failed in a subject, to allow him to pass the examination if his previous studies and his conduct show exceptional merit. It is necessary, however, that the subject in which he failed be neither the Servian language nor mathematics, and that he should have received at least 'Very good' marks for the other subjects.

The teaching staff of the middle schools is composed of directors, professors, assistants, higher teachers, and teachers (for foreign languages and art). Assistant masters must have completed the classes of the gymnasium and possess a final diploma, and have finished either the courses of the faculty of philosophy or of technics. On passing the examination of professor before a permanent Commission attached to the Ministry of Education, such assistants may become professors if they have completed three years of teaching. In order to obtain the post of Master of Modern Languages, it is necessary to possess the final diploma, and to have displayed the requisite ability by passing a special examination. Art masters must have finished the lower course of the secondary school and those of the special school, or else have shown their ability in a special examination. Teachers of languages who have finished the course of the faculty may become higher teachers at the end of two years' service. Art teachers who possess their

final diploma, may reach a higher rank after five years' service. Teachers of languages who have not finished the studies of a faculty, and the art teachers who have not passed the final examination, may become higher teachers after ten years' service, if the Council of Education considers that they have shown sufficient ability in their teaching. In order to become the director of an incomplete gymnasium, it is necessary to have completed at least eight years' service as a professor, while fifteen years' service are necessary before becoming a director of a complete gymnasium. After five years' service the director of an incomplete gymnasium may become a director of a complete gymnasium.

The directors of the middle schools are divided into three classes, and receive salaries of 5,000, 6,000, and 7,000 francs respectively, and remain five years in each class. Directors of incomplete middle schools receive a supplement of 600 francs, in addition to their salary as professor. Assistants receive a salary of 1,500 francs. The commencing salary of professors is 2,400 francs, which is increased by 600 francs after the fifth and tenth years of service, and then every four years, so that at the end of twenty-six years it amounts to 6,000 francs. At the end of thirty years of service, including those years passed as an assistant, a professor is entitled to a maximum pension of 6,000 francs. At the beginning of the school year 1904-1905 the teaching staff of the State secondary schools consisted of 18 directors, 198 professors, 43 assistants, and 50 teachers.

The number of class hours weekly is — 5 for directors of complete secondary schools; a maximum of 8 for directors of incomplete secondary schools, 15 to 18 for professors; a maximum of 10 for assistants during the two first years, and from 16 to 20 for teachers. If a professor or a teacher takes a greater number of hours than is prescribed for him, the Minister may give him a special grant for the supplementary hours, if these are hours devoted to the teaching of the arts, except when it is to replace a sick master, or one who is abroad in order to complete his special study. The secretary chosen by the Council of Professors from amongst the members of the teaching staff of the school acts as the secretary of the Professorial Council and as the assistant of the director for administrative work. In a complete middle school he receives 480 francs for these services, in the incomplete schools 240 francs, paid him out of the fund of the school fees. The librarian is similarly elected for one year by the Professorial Council. The senior class professor is the director of that class. He arranges all the administration of the class, assists in the classes of the other masters, and gives the necessary

instruction, besides taking general classes of the intellectual, physical, and moral training of the students. He is the president of the Class Council, which is composed of all those who teach in the class. This council decides everything touching the needs of the class, and all that concerns pupils who pass into a higher class, who undergo examinations at the end of the class, or who repeat the class. The marks upon the different subjects are given by the professors of these subjects in agreement with the senior professor. In case of disagreement they are given by the Class Council. Remarks on conduct and diligence are given by the Class Council. All the professors, assistant masters, and higher teachers, as well as in some cases the school doctor, compose the Professorial Council, which has the director of the school as president. This council pronounces serious sentences against the students, receives the reports of the heads of the classes at the end of each term on the condition and progress of the students, takes common steps for the improvement of the method of instruction and general education, decides on the purchase of school material and books, allots, on the proposition of the director, the subjects among the masters, according to their ability, awards scholarships and decides the amount of these, and, finally, interests itself in everything that can contribute to the school's progress.

Each secondary school possesses a doctor, appointed by the Minister of Education, who receives from the school funds a remuneration of from 480 to 840 francs annually. The school doctor examines all the students at the commencement and at the end of the school year, and also during the year whenever the director thinks it necessary. He also treats gratuitously poor students, and gives them the necessary certificate of illness. At the request of the director he visits those students which the director thinks necessary, without distinction of position or fortune. He treats the professors and teachers, and gives lessons on hygiene to the students, giving special attention to those hygienic conditions necessary for the health of the school. He also prepares the statistics on the health of the students, and submits annual reports to the director.

The middle schools of Servia are not under a regular inspection carried on by professional inspectors. The gymnasia are usually inspected at the end of the year by Ministerial delegates. Even this usually is only to be found in the complete gymnasia, where a Ministerial delegate is president of the jury for the final examination, and fulfils at the same time his other duties. It happens sometimes that there is no Ministerial delegate, and that the president of the jury of examinations is the director of the gymnasium.

The budget of the secondary schools in the year 1905 amounted to 1,164,162 francs. The revenue was composed of 75,200 francs of school fees, and 1,088,962 francs of State grant.

There exist five higher schools for girls in Servia, situated at Belgrade, Kragujevats, Shabats, Nish, and Valjevo. The three first are State schools, the two others private. The first has six classes, the last has for the moment only one, the others having each four classes. According to their present organization, these schools are intended to give general instruction to girls, and at the same time to prepare them for the education in gymnasia for girls, which, however, have still to be established. Students who have completed four classes in these higher schools have the right of admission into a school for mistresses. The scheme of study for the first four classes practically corresponds to that of the gymnasia. German is the only foreign language taught. In the higher classes (the fifth and sixth) the exact sciences are suppressed. Besides German and Servian, Russian and hygiene are taught as compulsory subjects; French, pedagogy, and household economy are regarded as compulsory subjects, when once they have been chosen by the pupil. In all the classes four hours weekly are devoted to women's employment. The organization of these schools, the method of admission, the division of the school year, the holidays, the remarks, etc., are the same as in the secondary schools. Students pay school fees of 20 francs annually, in addition to a registration fee of 5 francs.

The director of a higher school for girls possesses the same rights and duties as the director of an incomplete secondary school. The professors and teachers must possess the same diplomas and qualities as those of the secondary schools, and they receive the same salary. However, the instruction in these schools is in a great measure in the hands of mistresses of very various ability and knowledge. According to the Law of the 26th of July, 1898, it is necessary, in order to become a class mistress in a higher school for girls, to have completely finished the course of the faculty of philosophy, or to have passed the examination for mistresses with very good marks, and to have, in addition, followed the courses of philosophy as special students, or else to have acted during at least five years as a primary school teacher, with distinction. The class mistresses receive an initial salary of 1,500 francs, and receive an increase every five years, until after thirty years a maximum salary of 3,000 francs is reached. The mistresses of higher schools for girls are on the same footing as the mistresses of primary schools, as far as regards the length of service and pension.

At the end of the first term of the school year of 1904-1905 there were 1,012 pupils in the higher schools for girls, distributed as follows: Belgrade, 708; Kragujevats, 144; Shabats, 83; Nish, 52; Valjevo, 25. Besides these State and municipal schools mentioned above, there are in Belgrade and Nish establishments for the education of girls under the direction of private individuals. The budget of the higher schools for girls was in 1905 169,070 francs.

There are two special schools under the Ministry of Education and Public Worship—the Religious Seminary and the Teachers' Schools. There is only one religious seminary in Servia—that of St. Sava — organized according to the law of 1896, and opened in December, 1900. It is organized as a boarding-school, and has nine classes, each lasting one year. Children are received on leaving the primary school, and must be between the ages of ten and twelve, in the enjoyment of perfect health, and without any physical weakness. It is also necessary that they should possess good voices and an ear for music. A preliminary examination must be passed in order to enter the seminary. The students are either State scholars, in which case they are maintained gratuitously, or else they support themselves at their own expense, paying in advance 80 francs every two months. The instruction is either given by masters possessing the diplomas necessary for secondary education, or by others who have finished abroad the course of a religious academy and who have passed the Servian examination as professor on theological subjects. They enjoy the same rights as the professors of middle schools. The following subjects are included in the curriculum: Sacred writings and hermeneutics; dogmatic and polemic theology; apologetics; moral theology; pastoral theology; canonical law; liturgy and religious archæology; homiletics; patristics; history of the Christian and the Servian Church; Bible history; catechism; knowledge of laws; Servian language; religious Slav language; Russian; Greek; Latin; German; Servian and general history; philosophy and pedagogy; natural sciences; mathematics; geography; hygiene and domestic medicine; agriculture; singing, sol-fa and religious; religious laws; drawing and penmanship; gymnastics.

The religious seminary, having only been opened in 1901, had only four classes at the end of the school year 1903-1904, but the remaining classes have been opened successively year by year. The teachng staff of this school consisted in 1903-1904 of one rector, eleven professors, and a doctor. The number of scholars in the four classes was 174. The school year begins on the 1st of September, and lasts until the end of

June. In all other matters its arrangements are the same as middle schools. There are no school fees.

In view of the great importance attached to national education, special attention is paid to the preparation of teachers, and there are in Servia four schools for teachers—two for girls at Belgrade and at Kragujevats, and two at Yagodina (a boarding-school) and at Alexinats. Students must have completed four classes of middle schools or higher schools for girls, be in possession of good health, and possess sound hearing and sight. The professors of the schools of teachers must possess the same diplomas and qualities as those of middle schools, or else, after having passed through the school of teachers and the faculty of philosophy, have passed the examination for professors in pedagogic subjects. In the schools for mistresses attached to the higher schools for girls the teaching is in the hands of the mistresses of these schools. The directors of the schools of teachers enjoy the same rights and have the same duties as the directors of secondary schools. The directors of the higher girls' schools exercise at the same time, provisionally, the duties of directors of schools for mistresses. The following are the subjects of the curriculum: Christian doctrine and ecclesiastic Slav language; the duties of citizenship; Servian language; Russian, German, or French; general and Servian history; mathematics (with geometric figures); geography; natural sciences; hygiene and practical medicine; pedagogy—(*a*) psychology and logic, (*b*) general pedagogy, (*c*) system, (*d*) school work, (*e*) history of teaching; drawing and penmanship; church singing; sol-fa singing and violin; agriculture and elements of political economy; handicrafts for men and women; gymnastics (with national games and military exercises).

In the school year 1903-1904 the teaching staff of the school for teachers consisted of 55 masters and mistresses, and there were 447 pupils. The schools at Yagodina and Alexinats are boarding-schools. The other organization of these schools is the same as of secondary schools, but there are no school fees.

The budget of the Seminary of St. Sava amounted in 1905 to 185,230 francs, and that of the school for teachers to 140,068 francs.

The University was founded on the 27th of February, 1905, on which date the Great School of Belgrade was transformed into a University. This gave to the University complete autonomy under the Minister of Public Instruction, and the Government cannot exercise any direct control. The University is the highest autonomous body for higher education and scientific work. There are five faculties: theology, philosophy, law, medicine, and engineering. The faculty of

theology will be established in the form of a religious autonomous academy, according to a special law. When the faculty of medicine shall be established, the course of study will extend over ten terms. With a view to the establishment of this faculty and the necessary erection of buildings, a certain sum of money is devoted in each Budget of State, and a special Commission is engaged upon the necessary preliminary works, such as the systematic collection in the hospitals and elsewhere of anatomical specimens and other teaching materials; the preparation of different hospital sections to serve for lectures, the despatch of scholars to study the different branches of medicine, etc. The course in the faculties which already exist (philosophy, law, technics), which were also included in the Great School, extend over eight terms. The University is under the charge of a rector; the various faculties are under the deans, chosen from amongst the ordinary professors. The teaching staff is composed of ordinary professors, extraordinary professors, regular lecturers and special lecturers, honorary professors and teachers (these last for the arts and modern foreign languages).

The commencing salary of ordinary professors is 6,000 francs, which is increased to 7,500 at the end of ten years' service, and to 9,000 at the end of twenty years. Extra professors receive at first a salary of 3,283 francs, and an increase every five years until their salary reaches 7,075 francs (the amount of the salary of the ordinary professors of the old Great School). The regular lecturers receive an initial salary of 2,400 francs, with an increase every five years up to 6,000 francs. The rector receives an additional annual payment of 1,200 francs, and the deans one of 600 francs.

In order to be elected an ordinary or extra professor, it is necessary to obtain the absolute majority of votes among the ordinary and extraordinary professors forming the council of the faculty, and this election must be approved by the University Council, formed of the professors of all the faculties. The following are the maximum numbers of ordinary professors in the various faculties: four in the faculty of law, ten in philosophy, six in technics. There may be the following: six extra professors in the faculty of law, fifteen in that of philosophy, and nine in that of technics. The number of lecturers in a faculty may not exceed that of the ordinary and extraordinary professors together. Ordinary students of the University must possess the diploma of the final examination (*baccalauréat*). Such ordinary students as are in necessitous circumstances may receive State scholarships. The teaching in the University is gratuitous. The professors are free to teach their science as they wish. The students choose which courses

they wish to follow, and there are no fees. The courses are divided into terms, the winter term commencing on the 1st of December, and finishing on the 14th of January, while that of the summer runs from the 1st of February to the 15th of June. The rest of the year forms the vacation, and there are no classes on Sundays and festivals. The University of Servia confers the degree of Doctor and of *Licencié*. The teaching staff of the Great School in the school year of 1903-1904 was as follows: 18 ordinary professors, 5 extraordinary, 3 lecturers, and 1 honorary professor in the faculty of philosophy. At the end of the same year there were 132 students in the faculty of philosophy (95 ordinary students, of whom 14 were women, and 37 extraordinary students, of whom 28 were women), 53 in the faculty of technics, and 277 in the faculty of law (259 ordinary and 18 extraordinary). A great feature of the students' roll is the number of students who come from parts of the Servian lands not yet independent, and also from Montenegro. When the Bulgarian University was closed temporarily by the Government, many Bulgarian students came to Belgrade, and were admitted, although this was against the desire of the Servian Government. The autonomous University administration was thus able to arrange its own affairs quite independently. The budget of the University for 1905 amounted to 376,100 francs.

CHAPTER IX

MUSEUMS AND LIBRARIES

BY THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION

I. THE ROYAL SERVIAN ACADEMY.

THE Royal Servian Academy was founded by the Law of the 30th of November, 1836. Its object is to encourage and advance science; to establish and maintain the basis of a Court of Sciences; to publish and to encourage scientific researches dealing with Nature, society, and historical monuments; to support the introduction and development of higher arts; to make for the progress of public instruction by a union of forces in a way that would be impossible by isolated action: and it is one of the most potent positive factors in the development of national progress in all branches of study. The Academy is divided into four sections: the Academy of Natural Sciences, the Academy of Philosophical Sciences, the Academy of Social Sciences, and the Academy of Fine Arts. The mathematical, philological, and historical sciences are treated in the above-mentioned academies according to their relationship with the sciences directly represented.

In matters of ethnographical, linguistical, and historical research the Academy is required in the first place to devote its energies to Servian territory and the neighbouring countries. The Academy is only able to grant its protection and assistance to special works dealing with agriculture, medicine, legislation, and religion, the actual conduct of these being left to special societies. According to the law the public authorities must always accept the advice of the Academy in questions relating to the giving, maintaining, or proposing of State grants to societies of doctors, agriculturists, artists, jurists, teachers, archæologists, theologists, or to societies founded with the object of working along the lines of public instruction or the development of literature and science. The Academy is bound to give, through the intermediary of the Minister of Education, full information upon subjects demanded by the public authorities when such subjects fall within the competence of the Academy.

The National Library and the National Museum are attached to the Academy under this law, and the rights and duties formally belonging to the Committee of Inspection of the library and museum have been transferred to the Academy. The Academy is also authorized to appoint special delegates for scientific research, and to associate itself with societies proposing similar work in order to accomplish the desired end. In such cases, however, the Academy must inform the public authorities.

The basis of the Academy's programme of work was fixed by law, and is as follows: The Academy arranges and effects systematic scientific research; it encourages scientific research by giving grants to those working in sciences who show special merit; it comes to the assistance of Servian artists in order that they may produce artistic works; it organizes competitions with prizes for addresses or studies relating to science and art.

The Academy issues the following publications: (1) *Glas Srpske Kralievske Akademiye* ('The Voice of the Royal Servian Academy'), in which are printed the essays which have been read and accepted in the academical assemblies, as well as the reports made by specialists upon important scientific works. This publication consists of two distinct parts, of which one is reserved to the Academy of Natural Sciences and the other to the other academies. (2) *Spolenik Srpske Kralievske Akademiye* ('The Monument of the Royal Servian Academy'), in which are published documents, memoirs, and other scientific material dealing with antiquities and the arts, arranging them as much as possible according to allied subjects. (3) 'The Year-Book of the Royal Servian Academy,' in which are printed the minutes of the meetings, the reports of the work of the Academy, the National Library, and the National Museum, as well as of the other institutions under the Royal Academy, the state of its personnel and finance, biographies of members of the Academy, etc. (4) Works that the Academy has carried out by special committees, such as the 'Dictionary of Contemporary Literary Servian,' 'The Monument of Ancient Servian Art,' 'The Ethnographical Collection,' etc. (5) Works which are offered to the Academy for publication, and which are considered worthy of that honour. (6) Essays and works to which the Academy has awarded prizes, should the authors desire it.

The first Servian literary society, the 'Matitsa Srpska,' was founded at Buda-Pesth in 1826, and is now situated at Novi Sad (Neusatz), in Hungary. The first literary society having the character of a public institution was founded under the first Government of Prince Michel Obrenovitch, by a Law of the 7th of November, 1841, under the name of 'Drouchtvo Srpske Slovesnosti' (the Society of Sciences and Letters of Servia) in

1864. This society underwent considerable changes, and received the name of 'Srpsko Outcheno Dnouchtvo' (the Servian Learned Society). This society was specially placed under the care of the Royal Servian Academy by the Law of the 1st of November, 1886, which established the Academy. By the same law it was decided that the library, the collections, and all the privileges and money of the Learned Society should be handed over to the Royal Servian Academy.

The Academy may possess 34 ordinary members or academicians, of whom 8 may be chosen from outside the country. Besides these ordinary members, there may be 68 corresponding members and an indefinite number of honorary members. In 1904 there were the following number of academicians: 7 in the Academy of Natural Sciences, 7 in that of Philosophical Sciences, 11 in that of Social Sciences, and 5 in that of Fine Arts—in all, 30 members. In the same year there were the following corresponding members: 7 in Natural Sciences, 12 in Philosophical Sciences, 15 in Social Sciences, and 3 in Fine Arts—in all, 37. There were 70 honorary members, of whom 30 were in Servia and 40 abroad. The academicians and the corresponding members are elected by the whole Academy, which does not take into consideration the amount of their work, but their proved capacity as well as the independence of conscience which they have shown in their work. More than one academician or two corresponding members cannot be elected in the same year.

The Royal Servian Academy has as its head a president, assisted in his duties by a permanent secretary. These two, with the secretaries of the different academies, constitute the office of the Royal Academy. The president is appointed for three years by royal decree, and elected from amongst the ordinary academicians. The permanent secretary is also appointed by royal decree, but for life. He possesses the same rank and the same rights as a professor of the University. His duties may be provisionally performed by an ordinary member of the Academy elected for this purpose by his colleagues. The president and the provisional secretary receive a compensation in the annual budget of the Academy, as well as the treasurer and the clerk. Since its formation the Academy has never had a permanent secretary, but only provisional ones.

The Academy works either by sections or by special committees, in which may be included individuals not belonging to the Academy. The different sub-academies have their special secretary as president of their meetings. The meetings are always called together by the secretary of the Royal Academy, acting upon the advice of the various secretaries. Scientific works are carried on in the different academies.

Everything that is published by the Royal Academy must have been read and approved in the meetings of the different ac demies. There are the following meetings of the whole Royal Academy: The annual general meeting on the first day of the year, extraordinary meetings, and the formal meeting of the 22nd of February. The annual general meeting elects new members, secretaries of the different academies, and three academicians as auditors of the accounts during the year, and receives the reports of the Academy, the National Library, and the National Museum. When there is necessity, the office may convoke other general assemblies of the Academy on its own initiative or on the proposal of three academicians. The formal meeting is devoted to the reading of the report upon the work of the Academy during the year, the report upon the finances of the Academy, upon the National Library and Museum, and to the announcement of the names of the new members. There are also announced changes in the composition of the bureau, as well as the names of the writers to whom the Academy has given rewards. Announcement is also made of new subjects and studies proposed by the Academy.

There are the following committees and sections under the immediate direction of the Academy: (1) The section of the dictionary, or the lexicographic section, engaged in collecting the words of the literary Servian language of to-day, such as have been in use since the middle of the 18th century till to-day. For this the section has a permanent secretary and such assistants as are necessary. (2) The Ethnographical Committee, which is collecting the materials of all sorts for the ethnographical collection of Servia, in which are published the folk-lore, the habits, etc., as well as the descriptions of dwellings in Servian countries. (3) The Historical Committee, whose task is the publication of the collection of the history, the language, and the literature of the Servian people. This collection covers and systematically publishes all the information dealing with the national history up to 1830, as well as the memorials important for the Servian language and literature, ancient and more recent. The collection is divided into two parts—memorials in the Servian language and memorials in foreign languages. (4) The committee for the granting of rewards of the foundation of Nicolas J. Marincovitch, which distributes rewards annually for meritorious poems of a patriotic and moral value. (5) The committee for the foundation of the archimandrite Nitchifore Doutchitch, the object of which is to reward an essay, monograph, or entire work upon political, military, or religious Servian history, or even upon the philology, geography, or ethnography of Servia. At the end of 1903 the Royal Servian

Academy had at its disposal ten endowments, and administered them. These were: (1) The foundation of Nicholas J. Marinkovitch, with a capital of 12,000 francs, from which the revenue is 600 francs. (2) The foundation of Catherine Ivanovitch, of Stolni Beograd (Hungary), for the maintenance of her gallery of pictures in the National Museum. At the end of 1903 there was a capital of 5,524 francs. (3) Foundation of Marie and Michel Milivoievitch, farmers of Krtchmar, in the department of Kragujevats, of which the capital amounted in 1903 to 25,578 francs. The revenue is devoted to the assistance of poor Servian writers, whatever may be the reason of their need. (4) The literary foundation of Dinitrie Stamenkovitch, a merchant of Belgrade, which amounted in 1903 to 372,126 francs, and which will begin to be employed when the capital shall have reached 400,000 francs. The revenues will be devoted to the publication and free distribution to the Servian people, both within and without the kingdom, of books (one volume per year) dealing with the Servian nation and the Servian ideals, patriotism, religion, morality, truth, work, and diligence, as well as the maintenance of health. (5) The foundation of Dr. L. Ljoubomir Radivoievitch, a doctor in Kamenitsa, of Sirmie, of which the capital amounts to 100,000 francs, and is administered by the Ministry of Education. Every second year the revenue of this foundation is paid into the funds of the Royal Servian Academy, in order to be employed for its benefit and those carrying on the work in the sphere of Slav philology or of research devoted to history—especially Servian history—or to resist Chauvinist attacks against the Servian people or against the orthodox religion. In alternate years the same revenue is handed over to a special committee, having the duty of distributing popular scientific books and practical public education, such as good morals and habits. (6) The foundation of the archimandrite Nitchifore Dutchitch, already mentioned, the capital of which amounted in 1903 to 21,418 francs. (7) The literary foundation of Milosh J. Petrovitch, formerly treasurer of the Administration of Monopolies, of which the capital amounted in 1903 to 12,013 francs in gold. The Academy uses the revenue for the publication of a work each year such as it considers suitable. (8) The foundation of Pierre T. Yankovitch, chemist, of Kraguyevats, with a capital of 9,137 francs, of which the revenue is devoted each year to reward or to print a useful book chosen by the Academy. (9) The foundation of Dr. Nicolas Krstitch, Councillor of State, which consists of two houses in Belgrade, bonds, and the books and manuscripts of the founder, the whole representing a value of about 70,000 francs. The revenue of this legacy is given to the Academy,

to be employed in any way judged most useful for science and most necessary for the national education. (10) The foundation of Sophia D. Tchipritch, which amounted in 1903 to 1,189 francs. When this foundation shall have reached the value of 10,000 francs, the Academy must devote the revenue every two years for the reward of purely moral works.

The budget of the Academy varies from 25,000 to 40,000 francs. It is composed by the annual grant of the State, amounting to 25,000 francs, and of the revenues of the endowments, as well as from the sale of books, etc. The Royal Servian Academy has published up to the present 68 volumes of the *Glas*, 41 volumes of the *Spolenik* 17 volumes of the Year Book, 6 volumes of the ethnographical collection, 4 volumes of the historical collection, and 25 other works. The annual State Budget gives to the Academy the right of printing its publications at the State printing-works without charge, up to a value of between 15,000 and 25,000 francs.

The National Library.

After the foundation of the first Ministries in Servia each Minister commenced to buy those books necessary for his Ministry. The library of the Minister of Education soon became the most important, thanks to the numerous gifts of books made by patriots and friends of education. This library of the Ministry of Education formed the nucleus of the National Library. It contained in 1845, when its first report was published, 1,421 works. On the 16th of February, 1853, a law was published creating the post of librarian in the Ministry of Education, and all books, ancient manuscripts, all poems and other rare and precious objects valuable to science, were handed over to this Ministry from the various Chancellories, these latter only retaining such books as were necessary for their special work. The first librarian was appointed on the 16th of December, 1863. The second librarian was the famous philologist of Servia, Djura Danitchitch, who suggested to the Ministry that the name of 'National Library' should be given to the collection. This suggestion, however, was not adopted till lately. In March, 1881, the National Library was separated from the National Museum, which latter received a special curator. At the end of 1871 the Library possessed 10,600 works, in 22,459 volumes; 185 Slav-Servian and other manuscripts; 41 Servian volumes, amongst the first printed; as well as maps, plans, drawings, pictures, and photographs, to the number of 400. In 1887 there were 25,073 works, in 55,488 volumes; 410 old manu-

scripts; 66 of the very earliest printed books; and 904 examples of maps, plans, etc.

In 1904 the personnel of the Library consisted of the librarian, an assistant librarian, two clerks, and two porters. There were 39,060 works of 83,450 volumes (15,059 duplicates), 1,733 newspapers and magazines, 867 ancient and modern manuscripts, 1,316 letters, and 2,436 maps and pictures (with 72 duplicates). The Library was visited by 20,362 persons, and 488 made use of books from the Library. The total expenses amounted to 15,500 francs, composed as follows: Sinking fund on the debt, 5,026 francs; the purchase of books, 2,601 francs; the rebinding of books, 4,134 francs; office expenses, 3,736 francs. In 1905 the Library was increased by 960 books, 108 newspapers and magazines, 33 manuscripts, 28 letters, and 14 maps and pictures, of which 583 volumes were bought and 241 given. Servian publications sent to the National Library reached the number of 607 volumes and 1,122 duplicates.

The National Library is organized on the Magasiner system with consecutive numbers. The form of indexing is as follows: Fol. gr—fol—4—8 and 12. The Library is divided into sections for books, newspapers, maps and pictures, and manuscripts. Besides the National Library at Belgrade there are National Libraries at Kragujevats and at Nish, which are State institutions.

The National Museum.

The State first took measures for the preservation and collection of the antiquities of Servia. A Secretary of the Education Department, the famous Servian poet, Yovane S. Popovitch, ordered all the Prefects not only to save the old coins and other antiquities from destruction, but whenever such were discovered to send them to the Ministry of Education at Belgrade. Gradually the collection of old coins and other antiquities grew larger. In this way the Museum was formed, which until 1883 remained joined to the National Library, and under the control of the librarian. In this year there appeared a special law for the Museum, and after 1887 the Museum was separated from the National Library, and possessed a separate budget.

The Museum is divided into the following sections: The archæological section, containing all antiquities of prehistoric and classical periods, of whatever nature; the Byzantine Servian section, containing all the antiquities connected with the period from the commencement of the Byzantine era to

the present day; ethnographical section and the gallery of pictures and sculptures, which principally contains the more modern Servian pictures, as well as older ones of the Venetian school of the 17th century.

In the archæological section the largest and most important collection is that of prehistoric remains, which is composed of objects discovered and collected in the department of Belgrade on the sites which were inhabited in the Neolithic Age. Amongst these objects the most noteworthy are the numerous statuettes (more than 200) in baked earth, which are of a unique nature. There are also many fragments of vases, which are most important in the comparative study of the civilization in the Servian countries and the countries of the South-East of Europe. Amongst the antiquities of the following age, the Bronze Age, the first place must be given to the objects found in the necropolis of Klitchevats, including the unique statue of the well-known idol of Klitchevats. There are also gold jewels which are in close relation with the famous golden jewels of Troy in their constituent parts. In the more recent prehistoric periods the most remarkable objects are metal instruments.

The collection of classical antiquities is principally composed of pieces of the Roman Empire. Amongst the antiquities of the Greek Age the most precious are a small bronze statuette of Apobate, an original work of the Ionian school about the commencement of the 15th century B.C., and a small collection of Greek coins, especially those of the Greek northern colonies. Amongst the antiquities of the Roman Age which have been discovered in Servia mention must be made of the following: A bronze head, a portrait found in the Danube below Kladovo, dating approximately from the middle of the 1st century A.D.; fragments of marble statuettes of Cupid and Hercules found in Belgrade, fine specimens of the Roman work of the 2nd century A.D.; a bronze head, the portrait of Constantine the Great, found at Nish. This collection also contains, among the objects of lesser importance and of less artistic value, a certain number of heads and bodies of Roman statues of gods and men in marble and in bronze. Among the earthenware sculptures there are some of the well-known types of statuettes from the neighbourhood of Amphipolis, and also of the ordinary types of statuettes of the end of the Roman Era. The bas-reliefs are comparatively few, and principally represent the Thracian horsemen; especially noteworthy is the earthenware bas-reliefs of Viminacium, showing the Thracian horseman and religious scenes. There are a great number of vases, particularly of silver vases, amongst which there are some of the time of Augustus, and others

belonging to the different periods of the Roman Empire up till Lucinius. Some of the examples are unique in the world. Amongst the bronze vases mention must be made, because of their originality, of a kind of bronze cup, which is probably a speciality of the Servian countries. Earthenware vases, besides the ordinary objects in 'Terra-sigillata' of Eastern and Western manufacture, comprise those produced at the Viminacium. Glass vases are scarcely represented, save by fragments. The mask of a headpiece, found in the neighbourhood of Smederevo, bears comparison with the best examples of this nature.

The collection of engraved stones is very small, and is principally composed of objects of the Roman Era; but one fragment of a cameo compensates for the absence of the greater number of smaller pieces, because of its artistic work and of its unusual size. Relatively the greatest collection of the National Museum is that of coins of the Roman Republic and of the Empire, principally in silver and bronze. The collection of jewels and bronze, glass and bone ornaments contains a fairly large number of objects, of which the majority are of local production. The Museum also contains some coffins with figures and inscriptions, as well as a collection of epigraphical Roman monuments and several pieces and fragments of architecture of considerable interest. Speaking generally, the prehistoric collection and that of Roman antiquities are accurate witnesses to the civilization which existed in these eras in the country which is now the kingdom of Servia.

The Byzantine Servian section is composed principally of antiquities relating to the Servian State of the Middle Ages. There are few objects of the Byzantine era, and of small importance, save for the collection of coins. Among the Servian antiquities of the Middle Ages the most numerous are the coins of the Kings, Tsars, and great lords, as well as of the different cities. Amongst these pieces there are some which are unique. The collection also contains various jewels in silver and gold. Especially interesting is the gold clasp (fibula) which belonged to Peter, the Prince of Zahoumlie, of the 13th century A.D. It is probable that the collection of silver vases from the neighbourhood of Zayetchar also dates from this period. According to the inscription upon one of these vases, the vessel belonged to Sevaspokrator Tchousmene, a personage practically unknown in history. The gold ring of Nenad Jilitch, of a noble family of the time of Djurad Brancovitch Smederevats, has a historic and artistic value. The period from the fall of the Servian Empire at Kossovo to the revolution in the beginning of the 19th century is principally represented by antiquities belonging to the churches,

of varying value. The commencements of the new Servian State after the first great insurrection are represented by weapons of the period, which belonged either to the different insurgent chiefs or to unknown combatants, from whom they were taken by the Turks after the reconquest of Servia. The greater portion of the standards of the Voivodes of the first insurrection are also preserved in this collection, which also contains the costumes of Karageorges and of his wife, as well as their silver domestic vessels. The foundation of the Servian State under Milosh Obrenovitch and his companions is much more adequately represented in this collection. Besides the original weapons of the different leaders and representative men of the period, there are numerous examples of the costumes of Milosh Obrenovitch.

The Byzantine Servian collection also contains the historic Gallery of Portraits, composed of the portraits of Karageorges and of Milosh, as well as of the members of their families, and also portraits of the majority of the Voivodes and leading men of the two insurrections, besides those of the leaders of the army, statesmen, and savants of a more recent era. This collection is completed by weapons of various periods from the time of the Crusades (the famous Crusaders' swords) to the middle of the 19th century. These weapons are noteworthy and interesting, not only because of their shape and uses, but also because of their artistic work. There is also a special room where all the objects used by Vouk Karadjitch, the father of the new Servian literature, are preserved.

The ethnographical section forms a distinct collection, known as the Ethnographical Museum, which is contained in a special building given by a Servian, Stevtcha Mihailovitch. This museum is described later.

The gallery of pictures and sculptures is composed for the most part of artistic works given by various people. There is no special historical epoch or school represented. The majority of the pictures belong to the 17th and 18th centuries, and are largely those of the Venetian and other Italian schools, also a certain number of other European schools of various periods. The original idea of the gallery was to collect the works of ancient and modern Servian artists. Amongst them all the first place must be given to the Coronation of the Tsar Dushan at Uskub (Skoplie), by Paul Ivanovitch. There are about 300 objects in the gallery, but only 214 pictures and sculptures can be exhibited, because of lack of space. Finally, as a natural result of the first art exhibition of the Southern Slavs, which took place in 1904 at Belgrade, a special section of the gallery was founded under the title of Fine Art Gallery of the Southern Slavs, which is provisionally situated in the

buildings of the National Museum. There were purchased for this gallery some twenty works, pictures, and sculptures by Servian, Croat, Slovenian, and Bulgarian artists. The budget of the National Gallery in 1905 was 18,444 francs.

The Ethnographical Museum of Servia was founded in 1891, the year in which a small collection of the objects contained in it were transferred from the National Museum to the building at present occupied. No time was then lost in systematically collecting materials (especially in 1892 and 1893) for the National Exhibition of Costume in St. Petersburg, and (in 1904) for the celebration of the centenary of the insurrection and the liberation of Servia. The materials for the Museum are collected in all the Servian countries. There are already exhibits appertaining to the principal costumes, at least, of all the countries inhabited by Servians : Servia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia, Dalmatia, Montenegro, Sirmia, Banat, Batchka, Old Servia, Macedonia, and Zeta, on the Lake of Scutari. The Museum contains about 8,000 exhibits, of which about 170 are rare or unique. There are models on a reduced scale of houses and of entire properties of Zadrugas (family associations), as well as models of so many instruments that it has been impossible to accommodate them all in the rooms. Women's handicrafts form a very complete collection, and include examples of very ancient times. This collection includes costumes, embroideries, carpets, belts, woven materials, shirts, principally of white linen, etc. Pottery, wooden bowls, and various agricultural instruments or tools of the different handicrafts have been collected in the different Servian countries. The collection of arms contains many beautiful and interesting objects, including several wooden cannon, of which one comes from Krajana, and the others from Bosnia. There are also three instruments of torture : a collar furnished with spikes coming from Kroutagne, a ring of iron for the neck from the Tower of Tchenguitch, and a wooden club. The jewels are very various, among them some closely resembling those found in great quantities in the graves of the Middle Ages in Little Russia, and which may perhaps give some clue to the country and origin of the Servians. Amongst the curiosities of the Museum must be mentioned the famous album of costume of Nicolas Arsenovitch, who fifty years ago travelled through many of the Servian countries, painting water-colour pictures of the people and the conditions of life. The details, which he noted down with great exactitude, are of the greatest importance for the study of ethnography. He also made a technomatic atlas, with numerous enlargements of ornaments, and with tables giving

all the various parts of the national costume. Amongst the smaller objects are amulets, inscriptions, religious objects, ceremonial cakes, as well as a very valuable collection of filigree work from Servia, Bosnia, and Old Servia.

The objects in the courtyard are also of considerable importance, there being amongst other things funeral monuments of the Middle Ages, of which two are especially interesting, having the form of a house such as those which the Bogumils like to raise to their dead, and which are found from the west of Servia to the Adriatic Sea. There is also a two-wheeled cart of Zeta, and an original carriage for six horses coming from Upper Dalmatia.

A very excellent idea of the costumes may be gained from the sixty-five models dressed in original clothing, representing all the Servian countries, irrespective of political frontiers. Connoisseurs also admire the musical instruments, as well as the beautifully worked and carved distaffs gathered in all the Servian countries. There are also some hundreds of photographs from all parts of those countries inhabited by Servians, but unfortunately, from lack of space, they have to be stored, not exhibited.

The creation of a Museum of Natural History in Servia is due to the initiative of the Association of Professors (those teaching in secondary schools) in the years 1893-1895. This Museum was inaugurated in September, 1904, on the occasion of the centenary fêtes of the Servian Revolution. The work of the Museum is at present in the hands of two specialists, the director, who looks after the section of geology and mineralogy, and the custodian, who has care of the zoological section. At present the Museum is divided into four sections. There will later be a botanical section, but at present there is no room for it. The collection of plants of Pantchitch and other examples belonging to Servia and other Servian countries are to be found in the Botanical Garden of the University. The prehistoric section includes a collection of tools and utensils of the Stone Age in Servia. The most remarkable are the tools (five pieces) of nephrite of the Smederevo department.

The geological and palæontological section contain the following collection : (1) The collections of the various parts of the kingdom of Servia (arranged according to the topographical geology of Professor Juyovitch). (2) The collections from Old Servia and Macedonia, including the remarkable tertiary collection of Kossovo and of the neighbourhood of Orahovats, and of the rocks from the mountain of Char. (3) Geological collection of Bosnia and Herzegovina. (4) Geological collection of Dalmatia. (5) Very rich collection of volcanic rocks from the kingdom of Servia, the result of long years of work by Professor

Juyovitch, by whom the collection was arranged. (6) A collection of stratigraphic and palæontologic rocks, particularly noteworthy for the richness of specimens of the jurassic and tertiary formations. Mention must be made amongst the remains of diluvial mammals of the *Bison priscus* of Žabrejie on the Save, the *Bos primigenius*, and the *Cervus elaphus fossilis*, both coming from the banks of the River Grza, near to the monastery of Sveta Petka, in the department of Morava. (7) Servian meteorites from Sokobagna and the mountains of Yelitsa and Goutcha, which form the most remarkable collection in this section.

The section of mineralogy and of mines consists of a collection of minerals, principally from Servia. The mineral deposits of Servia are divided into four regions. In this section the copper deposits of Maidanpek, and the lead and antimony ores of the west of Servia, are especially well represented. The section of zoology contains five divisions: mammals, birds, reptiles and amphibians, fishes and molluscs.

The collection of animals includes more than 1,500 examples, both mounted and stuffed (Balge). Up to the present there have been collected 242 varieties of birds.

The existing National Theatre was formerly opened on the 30th of October, 1899, in presence of the Prince, the Regents, Members of the Government, and of a special committee (the National Servian Theatre at Novisad—Neusatz, in Hungary—was founded nine years previously). As was always the case before it received a special building, the theatrical art of Servia was moved from place to place, being represented by theatrical companies of all kinds. These were more or less permanent, and at first were composed by dilettanti, young people belonging to different classes of society. The oldest of these companies is supposed to be one founded in 1783, while the most famous was that conducted by Joachim Vujitch, a popular writer who was at the same time an actor. Vujitch travelled through all the Servian-speaking countries, and left behind him a quantity of dramatic works, principally translations from the German; for some time he was a kind of Court actor (1835).

The value of the National Theatre of Belgrade is 700,000 francs. This sum includes the price of the building itself 200,000 francs), of the scenery, decorations, the furniture, the statues, the seats, and the library (160,000 francs), the electric light and water fittings (60,000 francs). The value of the dramatic and musical archives may be estimated at 120,000 francs, and that of the wardrobe valued at 100,000 francs. The costumes of Servian history of the last century are

particularly beautiful and valuable. The National Theatre receives an annual grant of 40,000 francs from the State, 6,000 francs from the King, and 6,000 francs from the Commune of Belgrade. It is a State institution, and under the control of the Minister of Education. It is on the Minister's proposal that the director, and the literary director, and the treasurer of the theatre are appointed by the King.

The house contains 793 places, and a full house brings in 1,728 francs. The annual revenue from tickets averages 125,000 francs, while in the season of 1903-1904 it amounted to 129,000 francs. The number of representations amounts to 252 yearly, including matinées on Sundays and festivals. During the winter season classical matinées are given twice a month, as in France; for these there is a special reduction in the price of admission for the students of the higher schools. Besides this, the theatre gives popular representations three times a year at very low prices. In both these cases the pieces given deal with national life, and are chosen in a fixed order.

The répertoire is composed of 850 pieces—some 200 original and some translations. In the translations French literature predominates with 300 pieces, and the German literature follows with 200. The pieces translated from the English, Italian, Spanish, Scandinavian, and Hungarian are much less numerous; the pieces taken from the Slav literature are still fewer. The only representative of drama is naturally Shakespeare, of whom fifteen pieces figure in the répertoire of the National Theatre. That most frequently played is 'Othello' (thirty-four times since 1831), then 'Hamlet' and 'The Merchant of Venice' (the former thirty-two times since 1884, and the latter thirty-two times since 1869). These are also the most popular pieces of all the répertoire. 'Macbeth' (from 1882) and 'The Taming of the Shrew' (since 1869) have only been played four times each. The general public of Belgrade have a great liking for Shakespeare, although otherwise it prefers gay pieces and singing. Recently English plays, such as 'The Second Mrs. Tanqueray,' have been produced. The comic opera 'The Mikado' is also in the répertoire. The national répertoire represents about one-third of the dramatic productions in the Servian language. The National Theatre arranges each year a competition in order to encourage dramatists, and awards prizes to the best works.

The national pieces are excellently played, and the acting compares favourably with that of foreign theatres. The company consists of forty-four persons (twenty-one women and twenty-three men); there is also a choir and an orchestra. The actors are divided into those that are permanent, ordinary, and

temporary. The permanent actors after thirty years have a right to a pension from the State fund.

The State Archives were only established in 1898, although work had been going on since 1866 in preparation. Until 1898 each public institution preserved its documents in its own archives, and only for the use in its work. As a result the oldest documents, principally those from 1815 to 1842, were subject to very little care, in some cases even of no care, so that a very important part of these documents has been lost. This is especially true of the Chancellerie Princière (1815-1839), which included then all the actual Ministries and the other principal Administrations. The Law of the 2nd of December, 1898, which established the State Archives, assigned to them the duty of collecting all the documents from the archives of the different public administrations, such as might be of interest for the political, military, judicial, or administrative history of Servia up to 1870, to classify and to preserve them.

The State Archives are a special public institution depending from the Ministry of Education. At their head there is a director, who has the rank and salary of a University professor. There is in connection with the State Archives a special committee, which advises as to the purchase of documents and the internal organization of the archives. The State Archives do not yet possess a special building, which has presented the principal obstacle to their regular organization, and which has prevented from accomplishing the task which was assigned them. But everything has already been prepared to remove this difficulty. The annual budget amounts to 16,068 francs.

The State Archives began their work from the 1st of November, 1901, and up to the present they have collected the Archives of the Chancellerie Princière and of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, those of the Council of State, of the Ministry of Education, of the Metropolitan Diocese of Belgrade, of the Religious Court of Shabats; the ancient Archives of the Court of Shabats, those of the Prefecture of Shabats, and finally those of the Diplomatic Servian Agency at Bucarest. Among all these archives those of the greatest interest are the Archives of Chancellerie Princière and of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The documents relating to the relation of Servia with foreign countries (1815-1870) and the documents of the earlier period of the political Servian life (1804-1813) were destroyed in the Turkish invasion of 1813. Political correspondence has been classified according to countries and chronologically: Austria, Wallachia, England, Russia, Turkey, etc. The administrative correspondence of the Chancellerie Princière from 1815 to 1839 has been classified according to the

administrative division of the country at that time: the department of Alexinats, of Belgrade, of Valjevo, etc. The more recent documents, 1839-1870, are preserved in the manner of registration originally given them.

Since 1901 the State Archives place such documents at the disposition of scientific students as they wish to examine and copy. Authorization is obtained from the Director of the Archives. The documents before 1842 are given without any difficulty; more recent political documents are given under certain reserves and limitations, according to their character.

The State printing-office was founded, in 1831, in Krushevats, whence it was transferred to Belgrade at the same time as the Prince's Court and the State apartments. At first it only contained two hand-presses, on which were printed the most necessary books for the churches and schools, as well as the official journal (*Srpske Novine*). Soon there were added lithographic hand-presses of a primitive nature and a type-foundry. The State printing-office developed with the literary development of Servia, and procured more modern and more up-to-date machines, as well as all the necessary other material. The printing-office has already issued a great number of books for the University and for the middle and primary schools, as well as other educational works. Here are published also the texts of the laws.

The State printing-office contains to-day thirteen modern printing machines, large and small; three lithographic machines and two hand-presses; four complete machines of a French system for the casting of type; a binding workshop, very well equipped with the most modern machines, and an engraving department, where zinc and other blocks are produced.

The State printing-office receives no grant from the Government. On the contrary, it produces a certain revenue on the year's working. In 1904 this amounted to 116,905 francs. In this year the total revenue reached the sum of 834,501 francs, and the expenditure 723,596 francs. There were published about 250 books, either for the State or for private individuals, as well as 14 newspapers and magazines. The State printing-office personnel consists of 18 officials, of whom 9 are appointed by decree, and 230 workmen and workwomen.

CHAPTER X

RELIGION

BY S. M. VESELINOVITCH

Director of the Theological Seminary

THE primitive religion of the Servian people at the period of its migration to the lands it now occupies in Europe took the form of pure Naturalism—*i.e.*, the worship of the powers of Nature, to which ancient peoples of a quiet disposition were so much inclined. Even at the present day we find deep traces of this faith in the spirit of the Servian nation, for after 500 years' struggle it was only partially crushed by the ritual, first of the Latin and then of the Greek Christian Church, to which most of the modern Servians belong. The Greeks and Latins, superior in culture, wished to enforce their religion on their new brothers, and thus for scores of years Christianity was for the Servians a compulsory, rather than a chosen, faith. This oppression, however, merely influenced the formal aspect of religion; the national spirit still tended toward the old faith.

The partition of the Balkan Peninsula into Church dioceses under Leo Isaurus, and the intentional limitation of Papal jurisdiction in the territory, gave rise to disputes between Byzantium and Rome, and this acted detrimentally on the wavering and uncertain faith of the nation. The pressure of the ecclesiastical authority of Rome, which had always sought to exercise an international authority, was particularly unbearable to the Servian people already desirous of having a Slav rite of their own. This caused a struggle between the Servian and Latin elements in all Servian districts, and resulted on the seacoast in favour of the Latin, in the remaining districts in favour of the Slav ritual. At the period of these disturbances in the spiritual life of the Servians Rastko, the youngest son of Grand Jupan Nemanya, appeared on the ecclesiastical historical stage. His task was not only to fortify weakened orthodoxy, but to create an independent national Church in Servia. This was not easy to accomplish, but at

the moment political and ecclesiastical circumstances were so favourable to Rastko's object that he was able to most successfully fulfil his task. Rome was occupied with the Crusades and the newly-founded Latin Empire in Constantinople; Byzantium was disarmed and driven with its political and ecclesiastical authority to Nicæa; the Court of Servia had family ties with the Greek Dynasty, and stood on friendly terms with the Pope through Jupan Vukan; and in addition to this, there was Rastko himself, a King's son, and renowned throughout the Græco-Slav world for his saintliness and his talents. All this helped the Servians, in the first quarter of the 13th century, to secure a religious centre for themselves and a purely national Church of their own.

Having received the archiepiscopal dignity from the Constantinople Patriarch at Nicæa, together with the right of supremacy over his Church, Rastko (in religion St. Sava) returned to his fatherland, to find it devastated by the feuds of his brothers; to a nation wavering in its faith, and to a Church which was Christian only in name. He at once set to work on a large scale to define and establish the interior and exterior relations of Church and people. He made peace between his brothers, who had sworn enmity unto death; secured the friendship of the neighbouring States; founded the Servian kingdom by placing the crown on the head of his brother Stephen; established the Church in various districts; confirmed the national ecclesiastical hierarchy; founded schools in the monasteries; and then turned to the apostolic mission of teaching and elevating his people. He traversed all the lands of the kingdom of Servia on foot, and taught the people all that was necessary for life, spiritual and temporal. In various parts of Servia there still exist countless traditions about the saint, and these seem to show, better than anything else, how extensive was the influence which won him the appellations of 'Pioneer of Education' and 'Great Teacher.'

The work begun by St. Sava was continued by his worthy successors. During the 13th and the first part of the 14th centuries they built up the Servian Church on the basis laid down by Sava, where it shone bright and luminous among the sister Churches. In 1346 the Servian Church reached the summit of its formal development when the autonomous Servian Archbishopric was proclaimed a Patriarchate and a large part of the Balkan Peninsula came under its jurisdiction. But the Patriarchate of Constantinople looked with disapproval on the elevation of the Servian Church, and, guided by political motives, anathematized Servia. However, these dissensions did not last long, and in 1375 Prince Lazar and the Patriarch Sava secured the recognition of the Servian Patriarchate.

The close of the 14th century saw the fall of the Servian Empire (1389), and in 1459 Servia ceased to exist as a political factor. Everything had been overthrown in the Servian nation but the Church, which stood alone like a lighthouse in a stormy sea. Until Servia's deliverance in the 19th century it shed its light in the darkness and comforted the drooping spirits. What had formerly been the seat of wisdom and learning now became the centre of consolation to an oppressed people, spreading the faith and belief of the Christian religion. Until the 19th century every effort to free the Servian nation was due to the holy apostles at the Patriarchal See of Petch, who performed their sacred work of love to the last, never recoiling from even the most terrible form of suffering. The selfishness of the Greek Phanariots associated itself with the tyranny of the Turks. They put an end to the work of the Petch apostles, and took possession not only of the Patriarchate, but of the remaining episcopal see throughout the Servian lands. In 1831 the rule of the Phanariots over the Servian Church was cut short. Profiting by the clergy's and people's distrust of the Greeks, Prince Milosh Obrenovitch regained from Constantine (the Patriarch of Constantinople) the right for the Servian Church in the Principality to be ruled by a Servian Bishop. The first Servian Bishop to become the head of the Church was Melentius, Metropolitan of Belgrade, who had assisted Prince Milosh in the struggle for independence. He died, however, before he could undertake anything for the re-establishment of order in the Church which had been so sadly disorganized by the Greeks. His place was taken by Peter, the secretary of the Prince, whose energies and abilities were soon made evident. He laid the foundation of ecclesiastical science in Servia, and his regulations for the administration, jurisdiction, and finances of the Church are still in existence. The dynastic change of 1859 caused Peter to leave Servia, and Michel, the young Bishop of Shabats, was raised to the vacant see. Michel ruled the Servian Church for nearly forty years, but he was not an organizer; his spirit was drawn toward asceticism and politics—two apparently irreconcilable tendencies. The causes both of his greatness and his fall are to be found in his weakness for politics. Driven from his see in 1881 for political reasons, these also caused his recall to it in 1889. Michel has left a rare reputation for political capacity, and his patriotic work for the dismembered Servian nation gave a noble example. His successors, Theodosius (1881-1889) and Innocentius (1898-1905), were good men, but weak, and the periods of their rule are not marked by any important acts. The actual Head of the Church, Metropolitan Demetrius, has shown himself the guardian of ecclesiastical authority. He

holds himself above all party politics and dissensions, and his abilities cannot but make themselves felt in the future.

The State religion in Servia is now the Eastern Orthodox religion. The Servian Church is autocephalous. It does not belong to any other Church, but maintains a union, as far as concerns dogma, with the Universal Eastern Church. The internal control of the Orthodox Church belongs to the Assembly of Bishops, composed of all the Bishops of the diocese under the presidency of the Archbishop of Belgrade and the Metropolitan of Servia. Servia is divided into five dioceses: the Archdiocese of Belgrade, the Dioceses of Shabats and of Nish, a diocese with its seat at Tchatchak, and the Diocese of the Timok, with its seat at Zaytechar.

According to historical documents, there were Bishops of Belgrade and Nish in the 3rd century already, while the Bishopric of Zayetchar dates from the 13th century.

The following are the ecclesiastical authorities: (1) The Assembly of Bishops, which has legislative rights in all that concerns the internal administration of the Church and the direction of the clergy in conformity with the Church canons, and judicial rights as far as concerns the disputes and cases between Bishops, and faults committed by Bishops in their episcopal functions, as well as those affecting the marriage disputes of the Royal House; (2) the High Ecclesiastical Court, the Higher Ecclesiastical Judicial Tribunal, which examines in the second and last instances all decisions and judgments of the Diocesan Courts; (3) the Diocesan Ecclesiastical Courts, established for the assistance of each diocesan Bishop, and possessing administrative rights and religious judicial rights of the first instance; (4) the departmental Arch-priests and the Deans of districts, who are the agents of the ecclesiastical control for the department and districts; and (5) the parish priests.

Each Bishop rules the internal affairs of his diocese, but submits to the Metropolitan in administrative, and to the Council of Bishops in judicial, matters. The Council of Bishops elects a Bishop to a vacant see from three chosen candidates, and this election is ratified by the King. There is also an Electoral Council, which exists for the sole purpose of electing the Metropolitan. It is composed of the highest Church and State dignitaries.

The regular clergy of Servia belongs to the Order of St. Basil, as do all those of the Orthodox Church. The monasteries are divided into Lavras and ordinary monasteries. The former are such as were founded by the ancient Servian Sovereigns; the others have only the name of monasteries. In the six dioceses there are 976 secular parish priests. The

regular clergy in all the monasteries amount to 109 members, making a total for the two orders of clergy of 1,085, distributed as follows in the different dioceses: At Belgrade, 310 secular and 40 regular; at Shabats, 118 and 9; at Timok, 101 and 10; at Nish, 299 and 21; and at Zayetchar, 148 and 29. There are the following priests of other religions practised in Servia: 2 Catholic, 1 Protestant, 6 Jewish, and 9 Mohammedan. The Orthodox population in 1903 was 2,448,139 souls. The country for purposes of religious administration is divided into 5 dioceses, 19 arch-presbyteries, 52 deaneries, 901 parishes, 59 chaplaincies, and 346,718 Orthodox houses.

Public worship is allowed in Servia for such religions as have been recognized by the law. These religions are Catholicism, Protestantism (the Church of the Augsburg Confession), the Jewish, and the Mohammedan religion. The religious authorities of these different religions are placed under the control of the Minister of Public Instruction and Public Worship. The authorities of the Orthodox Church cannot have relations or work in common with the authorities and religious assemblies outside of the country without the authorization of the Minister of Public Education, Public Instruction, and Religion. The authorities of the other Churches or worship in similar cases are required to submit their correspondence for the approval of this Minister.

The standard of ecclesiastical science in Servia is not very high. Until 1904 there existed a seminary for the instruction of clerical students, which gave some general education in addition to theology. It had been founded in 1836, and for a number of years it successfully performed its task of instructing the clergy; but later on it assumed the form of a missionary school, which took more pains to satisfy the needs of the clergy in the non-independent Servian lands than to fulfil local requirements. Hence on the 1st of December, 1900, a new seminary was opened, which consists of nine classes, and gives a more extensive knowledge of classical and modern languages, in addition to theological subjects.

The present religious life of the Servian people is fairly undisturbed. In ancient times only one heresy was known—the Bogumile heresy—but this can be considered as having been more injurious to political than to religious life. At the present time there exists a small sect of Nazarenes, whose dogmas are to a great extent reminiscent of the Bogumile heresy; otherwise there is neither bigotry nor atheism among the Serbs. From time to time antireligious elements appear in the larger cities, but these have not taken root in the soul of the native Servians, being imported in the form of Socialism. In opposition to these antireligious movements, there are

some adherents of Spiritualism, whose mysteries appeal more than atheism to simple souls. During the past thirty years or so Freemasonry has made its appearance in the larger cities. This, too, has been the result of foreign influence, but it has not been successful, probably because it gave itself up to uncertain party politics, which are so opposed to its principles. As a matter of fact, party politics have done visible harm to the purely religious sentiments of the mass of the Servian people. It is everyone's hope that the Church will succeed in purifying the stagnant atmosphere of the Servian nation if she devotes herself to her apostolical mission of re-christianizing the Servian peoples.

CHAPTER XI

SUPERSTITIONS AND TRADITIONS

By TICHOMIR GEORGEVITCH

Editor of the 'Servian Ethnographical Journal'

THE Servian people are primitive and patriarchal in many ways, a fact best proved by their superstitions and traditions, which rule them to a great extent even at the present day. These superstitions reflect primitive thought, understanding, and observances concerning the most diverse aspects of physical, psychic, and social life. Often they are stronger than religion, or replace it altogether. The traditions express the sentiments and conception of events and vicissitudes in the past, present, and future.

Unfortunately, though the Servian peoples are so rich in superstitions, these have not as yet been systematically collected, nor are they available in a form for an exhaustive and scientific study. The Servians have some superstitions for which they can give a fairly plausible explanation; for others the reasons are altogether insignificant, unknown, or forgotten. All that can be said in their justification is 'It is well to do so,' or 'It is not well.' Little mention is made in ancient Servian documents of Servian superstitions. In Dushan's Codex (1346 and 1354) the disinterment and burning of dead bodies is mentioned, also sorceries, ordeals by fire, etc. The burning of witches is also mentioned at an early date. Most superstitions mentioned are of a religious character. These were remnants of the old belief, or adaptations from Byzantine literature, and were condemned as being opposed to the Christian faith by the Church, which directed her writings against them. But though they were neglected by ancient literature, they nevertheless existed in the nation, to such an extent even that they have been preserved up to the present in full vigour. They may be roughly classified into superstitions of everyday life, superstitions concerning work, superstitions in customs, superstitions in medicine, and superstitions in religion.

The daily life of the Servian is full of superstition. He is superstitious about the manner he rises in the morning, about what he sees first, how he dresses and washes, and whom he meets. He pays attention to what food he eats and at what time, how it is handed to him, etc., through the entire day, till he lies down at night. Attention is also paid as to whether the cocks crow in time, whether the dogs bark much, if the frogs croak or the wind blows. Again, notice is taken as to when thunder is first heard, what kind of rain falls, how the stars shine; has the moon a halo, or does the sun shine through a cloud? All this, and much more, forms the subject of daily superstition and interpretation.

In all work that the Servian does he attributes an important part to superstition. If he goes to hunt, he knows beforehand whether there will be game or not, and what he must do to find it. He pays attention to whom he meets before starting, so that his expedition may be successful, and to the destined use of the animals he kills. He examines various parts of their bodies, and thereby divines all manner of things. A hunter knows what days he must not hunt, just as he knows what he must do with destructive animals to extirpate them. Medicinal qualities are sometimes attributed to different parts of animals. It is a popular belief that hunters are sinful men; also that some animals may and some may not be killed. There are many superstitions about cattle-rearing—*i.e.*, the origin of certain animals, their fate, their characteristics—shyness, deceit, guilelessness, malice, and so on. Numerous practices exist to make the cattle lactant, fat, healthy, numerous, and to protect them from wild beasts. There are feasts for the cattle, doctoring, and witchcraft. In husbandry there are countless superstitions concerning the origin of tillage, and man's first teachers of husbandry. The growing of fruit is aided by charms; there are feasts for a fruitful year, or to prevent hail, drought, or rain, etc.

Probably the greatest number of superstitions exist regarding daily customs, and most of them refer to the three chief moments of human life—birth, marriage, and death. On entrance into the matrimonial state, sorceries are practised that the bride may or may not soon have children, for their number and sex; that they may thrive and be healthy, etc. Superstitious sorceries are practised when a woman has no children and desires some, or when she has a sufficient number and desires no more, or when she bears only male or female children and the contrary are desired. There are superstitions about all that a pregnant woman may or may not do, what must be done that she may give birth easily, and escape the maladies of childbirth. Servians believe that evil spirits

are present at birth, who harm the child and mother, and against these there is a mass of superstitions, sorceries, charms, talismans, etc. There are superstitions about false pregnancy the ordination of the child's fortune by Fate or Destiny, about first burial, premature birth, and the death of unchristened children; superstitions also about crying, sleeplessness, infant maladies; when children do not begin to walk or speak in time, when they are dressed for the first time, when their first tooth is extracted, and still others.

Charms are practised to discover the future bridegroom, to make a young man love a girl, and conversely; also to make them hate each other; that a bride may be loved by her new family, that she may be loved in her new home, that her food may taste sweet, that she may bring blessings and good luck to her husband, that she may or may not bear numerous offspring, etc. There are likewise many superstitions about death. It is believed that death occurs when the Holy Archangel removes the person's soul from his body. Death cannot take place without the day having been ordained. There is also a star in the sky for each living man, and as soon as he dies it ceases to shine. Death is always foretold, either by the person himself or by a member of the person's family. Superstitions exist about natural and unnatural death (there are talismans against shot, sword, evil charms, and evil eye), about the aspect of a patient during his malady, and when he suffers much but cannot die. There are superstitions concerning the souls of the dead, of the fate of the just and the sinful, the advantages derived from offerings to the dead, the forgiveness of sins, vampires, the dead seen in dreams or otherwise, and the disinterment of dead bodies.

Superstition plays an immense part in Servian medicine. No one who has not had a patient in a village, and heard all that is said and believed by the peasants, can conceive how superstitious they are in this respect. The malady is always considered the result either of fate, the evil eye, evil intentions, charms, or as the doing of beings who go about to destroy —the plague, witches, uncleanliness, the Holy Archangel, etc. During the illness various charms and sorceries are practised, graves are opened, the patient is borne to a stream or tree, or church or mill, that the disease may return to him who sent it, or that it may go into wood, stone, or water. God has, it is believed, given a remedy for each malady, and for each pain there are healing herbs, but man has forgotten which herb cures a disease.

Although the Servians of Servia and most other Servians belong to the Orthodox faith, the national religion is full of superstitions, many of which are directly opposed to the

teachings of the Christian Church. Perhaps it is not too daring to say that the Christian faith and its precepts are even as yet little known among the people. The Servian seldom goes to church—and when he does it is through superstition—but he is indefatigable in his superstitious religious customs, which he considers as a constituent part of religion. Therefore the Christian Church had to be very lenient when she threw her mantle over the superstitious beliefs of the Servians and gave them a Christian character. Hence the permission of the Slava, religious processions, ceremonies for the sick, blessing of butter, dancing outside churches, and so on, all of which are essentially non-Christian. Even those superstitious national rites having nothing in common with the Church—even prohibited by it—are still kept fervently. Such are Kraljice, Dodolé, and Koleda. Various harvest customs, and the practice of drawing the cattle through the earth in cases of infection, and so on, are all remnants of the old faith. There are also innumerable superstitious feasts, of which a regular calendar could be made. These feasts are celebrated in order that the crops may be plentiful, that the cattle may thrive, that there may be no thunderstorms or hail, and that there may be no attacks of wild beasts. On all these occasions things are performed differently from what is recommended by the Church. Even the popular belief in a God Creator is different from the Christian belief, although the Christian influence is visible. That God created the world, that He created the angels, that some of these fell and became devils, are purely Christian doctrines; but that every man has a guardian angel who preserves him from misfortune and a devil who tempts him to evil are non-Christian beliefs. In the Servian religion the Christian saints have been invested with the virtues of the beings who were believed in before the introduction of Christianity. The Slava is nothing else than the glorification of the household, non-Christian, protector, now replaced by a Christian saint. That the Christian saints have replaced the pre-Christian beings and their virtues is best seen by the following examples: St. Elias rules thunder and lightning; St. Nicholas rules the water and ships; St. Sava rules the snows and ice; the Holy Archangel carries away souls. SS. Petka (Friday) and Nedelja (Sunday) are considered to be still alive. *Vile*, dragons, monsters, witches, *Alle*, vampires, are all un-Christian beings still believed in. The *Vile* are beautiful young maidens who come forth from the dew, and are nourished in a mysterious mountain. They live in the mountains and near springs; they do no evil, and lucky is the human being on whom they bestow their affection, and woe to him who does them any

wrong. The *Alle* are beings who rule the clouds and drive the hail on to the crops. Witches are women possessed with an evil spirit, which comes forth when they are asleep, and takes the form of a butterfly, hen, or turkey, and flies into houses to feed on human flesh, preferably that of young infants. Vampires are ghosts of dead persons who issue from the graves at night and suck the blood of the living, and disturb them in various ways. The plague, incubus, cholera, Karakondjula, madness, midwife, etc., are all believed to be entities with various functions to perform, some of which are undefined, indistinct, and intricate. The Servians also have superstitions about certain places, animals, planets, stars, fire, water, feasts, colours, certain works and trades, justice, natural phenomena, dreams, buried treasure, etc.

Many superstitions are considered blasphemous or in opposition to Christian doctrine, or fatal, or detrimental, or harmful, or immoral, or waste of time, and so on. Therefore, and in addition to the supervision—though slight—of the Church, it was found necessary to introduce a law which prohibited certain superstitions, and punished the individuals by whom they were spread (365, point 4, Penal Code).

No comparative study of Servian superstitions being available, it is difficult to give precisely their origin and antiquity. Roughly speaking, the largest portion of Servian superstitions are of a non-Christian Slav origin, and were introduced into the Balkan Peninsula by the first Slav immigrants and by the Servians. Under the influence of the new surroundings in which the Servians found themselves, new superstitions were probably added to the old ones, or these were confounded with, or adapted to, the Slav superstitions. After the advent of Christianity in the second part of the 9th century, and notwithstanding the nature of the Christian faith, superstitions were still preserved, some with their full former force and others mingled with Christian elements, so that they contain both a Christian and an un-Christian character. Others, again, at the instance of the Church, adopted a truly Christian character, and burst forth anew, although their essence had been in reality pagan. Coming into contact with other peoples of the Balkan Peninsula and its neighbourhood, the Servians adopted many new superstitions, and these are still preserved among the Servians, or have been mingled with the Servian superstitions, or have influenced and completed each other reciprocally. In this respect Turkish influence was very strong, for the Servians lived under and with the Turks during entire centuries. Turkish influence was so strong, in fact, that not only are many Turkish and Eastern elements traceable to-day in the Servian superstitions, but

many purely Turkish or Oriental superstitions have been adopted. Even at the present day Servians frequently ask Mohammedan priests to make charms for them against disease, etc. Many fictitious beings bear Turkish or Oriental names, and are different from purely Servian superstitious beings. This reciprocity between Servian and Turkish superstition went so far that purely Servian superstitions are common both to the Servians and Turks, and conversely. In some cases they are so intermingled that it is impossible to distinguish them apart. This adoption of a foreign superstitious element has resulted among the Servians in some superstitions which refer to the same thing, but contradict each other. This is demonstrated by the superstition about spiders. One proverb says: 'Alight from your horse to kill a spider' —*i.e.*, it is such a worthy thing to kill a spider, as it is he who begins to suck the eyes of the dead, that one should not grudge alighting from his horse in order to do so. But another superstition says that it is a great sin to kill a spider. Although both of these superstitions are considered to be purely Servian, it is obvious that the second is really Turkish, for Mohammedans believe that Mohammed, when a fugitive, took refuge in a cave, over which a spider spun a web, and his pursuers, seeing it, were persuaded that he was not inside, since he could not have entered without breaking it. Through gratitude for his preservation Mohammed blessed the spider as a holy creature, whom it is a sin for his followers to kill.

TRADITIONS.

Servian popular tradition either expresses itself in the form of poetry—which ranks among the best in Europe—or of tales, proverbs, riddles, fables, etc. Servian tradition is mentioned in documents of an early period. In the 12th century the priest Dulkijan, in the arch-diocese of Bar, made use of Servian historical tradition for his Latin chronicles; and this he himself acknowledges. Servian writers of the Middle Ages likewise made use of tradition for their works, but it is unknown to what extent. Writing his Chronicles at the close of the 15th century, Mihailo Konstantinovitch substituted the popular traditions of the time for all that was outside of his own knowledge. Later, Servian and foreign writers on the Servians made great use of popular tradition, as the Patriarch Pajsije, Djordje Brancovitch, Mauro Orbini, J. Lucari, and others.

Servian national songs or Pesmas, which contained and preserved the principal traditions, are mentioned at an early date, and the author Domentian speaks of them towards the

close of the 13th century. They are also mentioned by Niciphor Gregoras in the first part of the 14th century, by G. Sisgoritch (1469), by Benedict Kuripesitch (1531), by Ant. Vrantchitch (1553), by Stevan Gerlag (1573 and 1578), and by Busbek (1564). In the 17th and 18th centuries Servian poesy is alluded to more frequently. With the advent of the Servian national Raguso-Dalmatian literature, Servian popular poetry began, not only to be discussed, but even to be imitated and appropriated. The first Ragusian poets, S. Mentchetitch (1527) and Dj. Dpzitch (1500), wrote many poems composed in the national spirit, or, rather, poems that were already popular, and which they improved and recast in more artistic form. Mauro Vetrenitch (1482-1576) has left scores of verses composed in the spirit of popular lyric song. Petar Hektorovitch (1487-1572) wrote down these national songs, which he learned from the fishermen. It is notable that Hektorovitch also added the melodies of two of the songs, and thus preserved the first example of Servian popular music. Nikola Barakovitch (1546) also gives a national poem. Dinko Ranjina (1563-1607) has four 'songs of the cycle' among his lyrics, and by their proportions and other characteristics these seem to show a purposed imitation of national Pesmas. In Ivan Gundulitch's 'Osman' elements of national poetry are strongly visible in the subject-matter, in its heroes, and in many other points. In his 'Dulbrovitsa' we come across several imitations of national Poskocice (verses sung during the dancing of the Kolo). Other poets, as N. Neljeskovitch, J. Palmotitch, and others, were influenced by national poesy. In addition to this, already, in the 17th century, the Ragusians began to collect and write down national Pesmas. In his collection, 'Ancient and Chiefly Seafaring Songs' (Belgrade, 1878), V. Bogisitch published a considerable number of national Pesmas from the manuscripts of the 17th and 18th centuries. Finally, mention must be made of a Dalmatian Servian, Andria Katchitch (1690-1760), who is of special importance in Servian poetry. The duties of his calling led him to visit Herzegovina and Bosnia, where the Servians are a living source of popular poetry. On this occasion he studied national poetry and collected historical data, with the intention of setting forth in poetry a true account of the glorious past of the Servian nation. Being well acquainted with national poetry, and being himself highly gifted, he composed his famous historical popular poem, 'Razgovor ugodin uaroda slovinskog' (first published in Venice in 1756), in which he repeats popular tradition. Where accounts of events are lacking he gives them himself, and with such skill that they can hardly be distinguished from national songs. Two

of the 261 poems contained in this work are incontestably national.

The first to attract the attention of the world to Servian national poetry was the Italian Abbot Alberto Fortis. In his 'Viaggio in Dalmazia' (1774) he introduced a Servian national Pesmas, 'The Lamentation of Hasan-Aga's Wife,' which charmed the great Goethe so much that he translated it from Italian into German, and it was published with three poems by Kacitch in the famous Herder Collection, 'Stimmen der Völker' (1778-1779). At the request of the German historian, J. v. Müller, J. Feritch of Ragusa translated some Servian Pesmas into Latin.

There is no direct mention of Servian popular tales in ancient times; nevertheless, much of what now forms the subject-matter of Servian popular tales was contained in Servian medieval literature, which was under the influence of Byzantine literature. Thus from literature it passed into tradition. Some ideas in the Servian tales were taken from Italian literature. Dj. Siskoritch speaks of Servian popular proverbs in his work, 'De situ Illiriæ et civitate Sibenici' (1469). The works of N. Dimitrijevitch, of Ragusa (1510-1553), are almost identical in form with the proverbs which exist to-day. Other authors also made use of proverbs in their works. M. Drzitch (1520-1580) and others introduce proverbs into their comedies, as also do V. Graditch (1589) in 'Libarcu od djevstva,' and D. Ranjina (1536-1607) in his poems. The first Servian collection of proverbs is a manuscript of 1679, and there was a second collection during the first part of the 18th century. There are proverbs also in the dictionary 'Della Bella' and in G. Ferrich's 'Fabulæ ab illiricis adagiis desumptæ' (1794). In 1787 J. Muskaterovitch issued a collection of proverbs in Vienna, and in 1887 in Buda-Pesth. St. Ferentchevitch (1800), a parish priest of Sombor, and St. Ilitch each left a collection of proverbs. The oldest Servian riddles known are probably those in the 'Calendar of 1761,' which were reprinted by J. Brlitch in his 'Reformed Illyrian Calendar for 1842.' Riddles were also left before the 19th century by J. Muscatirovitch and St. Ferentchevitch.

Ancient Servian memorials also give much information concerning national life, costumes, and traditions. Servian legal tradition partly served as the material for the Codex of the first Tsar Dushan (1331-1355). But before written laws came into force in the Servian lands legal customs reigned everywhere, and these still play a considerable part in national Servian life. Popular pastimes and manners are likewise mentioned in the memorials. Perhaps for no people in the world did popular customs and tradition play such an important part as for the Servians, who for centuries endured the hard fate of being

oppressed by a foreign yoke. The ancient mode of life preserved the nation, and the Zadruga was a strong wall protecting them from outward evils; their customs enabled them to retain their characteristics and individuality, and tradition encouraged and fortified their spirit. The Servians have largely to thank their popular Pesmas and legends for the preservation of their nationality, and for their later resurrection as a nation. Simultaneously with the creation of the Servian State commenced a happier period for Servian traditions. National movements at the close of the 18th century aroused a general interest throughout Europe for the study of traditions. This is the creation of the so-called historical or romantic school in Germany, which gave a new course to science, literature, art, and politics. Amid such conditions of thought the Servians also found their guide in popular matters in the person of Vuk St. Karadjitch (1787-1864). He succeeded in giving a new national direction to Servian literature by means of the native tongue in which Servian tradition was vested. Thus he raised the interest for Servian popular tradition and language to the honourable place to which it is entitled. Born in the village of Trsic, in Western Servia, where the purest Servian is spoken, and where popular tradition is in full force and vitality, unschooled and unacquainted with the course then taken by Servian literature, but gifted with a remarkable spirit, he came to Vienna after the defeat of Servia in 1813. Here he made the acquaintance of J. Kopitar, one of the founders of Slav philology, a diligent student of Slav antiquity and language, and one who had placed himself, though in a Slav spirit, on the plane of new European ideas. Under Kopitar's influence Vuk began to collect popular traditions, and to organize and reform the popular tongue. Untiring labour made him the father of modern Servian literature and folklore. Notwithstanding numerous struggles and hardships, Vuk succeeded in collecting a mass of Servian popular traditions, songs, tales, proverbs, riddles, etc. Concerning tradition, Vuk is an original and a unique figure in the history of European work. Whilst all Slavs, carried away by the patriotic zest of the period, even admitted falsifications, Vuk was a brilliant exception. Not only was his an extensive collection, but it was the most reliable. Following the road shown by Vuk, Servian literature now adopted a popular tone which had not before existed. It was clothed in popular garb, and permeated with the spirit of the people. Since Vuk's work in the fields of Servian popular tradition much has not been achieved, although work has been continual. Unfortunately the collecting of the material is not at present carried out with sufficient care and system. Traditions have, however, become

the object of serious study on the part of the Academy of Science, various literary societies, and publishing firms. *Karadjitch*, a periodical which appeared for four years, was devoted to popular traditions, superstitions, manners, and customs. Men occupying high positions in the world of learning also began to interest themselves in this subject. Though the systematic and comparative study of Servian tradition is only now just beginning, it is at least acknowledged as a useful and worthy undertaking.

Apart from the usual division into literary forms, epic and lyric poetry, tales, proverbs, riddles, etc., Servian popular traditions may be grouped into mythological, historical, and social traditions. Events from mythology form the subject of mythological traditions, and its heroes are mythological beings. They also relate fantastical episodes which are remnants of mythology. Such traditions are contained in poetry (epic and lyric), tales, fables, legends, etc., and sometimes even in proverbs, sayings, and riddles. Mythological tradition also comprises those numerous Servian traditions wherein purely mythological elements are replaced by Christian or historical elements. Historical tradition is based on facts, and relates historical events, and its heroes are historical personages. Historical tradition is found in poetry and proverbs, but seldom in tales; oftenest it is connected with particular places, forts, churches, springs, caves, ruins, etc. The conception and exposition of events in historical tradition are frequently so fantastic that, unless one knows that the origin was real, one might be led to believe that it had been borrowed from mythological tradition. Servian historical tradition does not record events prior to the reign of Stevan Nemanya (1169-1195), but the nearer we come toward the present the more abundant we find it, so that there are hardly any events in Servian later history about which there do not exist a lively historical tradition, and these are especially to be found in epic poetry. Social traditions are concerned with events of the ordinary social life, and the heroes are persons in ordinary life. They contain no mythological elements, are seldom fantastic, and then for practical reasons. They are particularly found in lyric poetry, short tales, proverbs, and riddles. It would be a mistake not to mention that the most popular hero in Servian tradition is Marko Kraljevitch, a historical personage around whom numerous mythological and historical ideas have been woven. He is not only the most popular hero of Servian tradition, but is well known to the Croatians, Bulgarians, and Roumanians, and even to the Turks and Albanians.

Besides its native elements, and the pure Slav elements introduced by the Slavs into the Balkan Peninsula, Servian tradition

also contains elements adopted from the ancient inhabitants of the Peninsula when the Servians came into contact with them. With the introduction of Christianity and reading and writing, the Servians, who were chiefly under Byzantine influence, also adopted the Christian and literary elements of Byzantine literature into their own traditions.

A portion of the Servians were under the influence of Italy and other Western States, whence literary or other elements also entered Servian popular tradition. With the arrival of the Turkish rule Eastern elements were also introduced. Many foreign elements of Servian tradition have undergone great changes, so that it is only by close study and comparison that their origin can be ascertained; on the other hand, there are some which can be recognized at once as foreign. With regard to popular tradition in the Balkan Peninsula, there have been so many movements, distortions, appropriations, adoptions, influences, vicissitudes, and interminglings that it is very hard to discern what belongs to a particular people. It appears that the principal traditions of the Balkan people have been so amalgamated that they are identical. The popular songs, tales, proverbs, etc., of the different peoples are either the same, or contain the same ideas, and have only been locally altered, expressed otherwise, or in another tongue. Nevertheless, Servian tradition was the strongest, and so had an immense influence on the other Balkan peoples. Although this cannot be said of every branch of Servian tradition, it can be positively maintained about historical tradition. This is best seen from the fact that the Servian heroes of the past and of its historical traditions have become those of Croatian, Bulgarian, Roumanian, and even Albanian and Turkish tradition. The contrary—that is, the adoption of foreign heroes by the Servians—takes place in a very small degree. By its strength and expansiveness Servian tradition has permeated the spirits of the neighbouring peoples, the Croatians, whose language is identical with the Servian, and the Bulgarians, who have a sister language, and because both these people have pretensions to purely Servian regions they have also collected a considerable number of Servian traditions either in their own lands or in the Servian lands to which they lay a claim, and have published them in their collections as their own.

CHAPTER XII

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS*

By DR. SIMA TROYANOVITCH

Director of the Ethnological Museum

In observing the world as a whole, we perceive so many languages that we only notice the vast difference between them. Yet the most distant peoples and divergent races, speaking separate languages, are bound into a close tie by ethnology in general, and especially by their manner of living and their religious manifestations; hence it is evident that all nations have sprung from one and the same root. This agrees with the laws of psychical life and the process of thought, where the phenomena of psychical acts never appear isolated, but always in a stronger or weaker organic tie. In dissecting the Servian people we find some general traits, which are therefore also Servian; some Aryan, hence again Servian; and some exclusively Servian. The latter are fairly insignificant, but when all are collected the Servian nation can, nevertheless, be represented as a separate unity. It is only when one desires to affirm this relative independence that language becomes an indispensable agent to enable the Servians to obtain a separate place in the human amphitheatre.

The Servians are mostly dark, with brown hair and eyes, seldom black or any other colour. They are all more or less of an exuberant temperament; they are sensitive, and capable of sudden ecstasy and intemperance, and of great grief, which depresses at first only, every inward storm soon blowing over. They have a fertile imagination, and their powers of observation of all natural phenomena are strongly developed. It is to their poetical disposition and their personal valour that they owe the spread of the knowledge of their name throughout the

* This article was partly written from my own notes, most of which have never before been published, and partly from the following writers, giving their exact text: Vuk Karadjitch, Utyeshenovitch, Medakovitch Petranovitch, Vrtchevitch, Mikloshitch, Rayatchitch, Militchevitch, Novakovitch, Bogishitch, Y. Tomitch, Sofritch, Rovinski, and Weissbach.

educated world. Servian hospitality has long been famed. The housewife whose husband, brother, or son is starting for another village gives the traveller a loaf with a flower design upon it. He is also provided with cakes for the children of the house he visits, and a bunch of flowers, which must have a small coin attached by a silken thread, for each of the women and girls. In Montenegro, when a traveller is prevented by bad weather from continuing his journey, he may enter the first house he finds. On entering, he greets the master with, 'God assist ye.' The householder replies, 'Good luck to thee,' and the women come forward and kiss his hand. Then he again addresses the master of the house, saying : 'Can one pass the night in this honourable house ? Ill luck has chased me till I know not what I do, or whither I go.' The host replies : 'The house is God's and yours, and we shall find something to eat, be it but two potatoes with love and the good-will that cannot be divided.' Here some of the men take their weapons and lay them aside, saying to their guest : 'Make yourself as comfortable as in your own house.' One of the women comes forward, and taking off the traveller's footgear, she bathes his feet, and then makes up a bed for him. If his shoes are wet, she dries and cleans them for the next day; and if he has not a spare pair, the host gives him his own to put on. However poor a Servian of Montenegro may be, he takes pains to treat his guest to the best he has, and endeavours to please him. For instance, if he is short of brandy or anything else, he borrows from his neighbour or even from the next village for him. The morning after the arrival of the guest the whole house is up early, and sees that everything he may require is ready for him when he arises. One of the women puts on his shoes, and brings him water and a towel. When he has washed, he sits down to breakfast, at which none of the women would join him under any considerations, but stand around and wait upon him. After he has eaten, his weapons are brought him, and, thrusting his knife and the smaller guns into his belt, and taking up his large gun, he takes his leave of the entire household, and the women kiss his hand, saying : 'Go with fortune, and forgive us.' The host escorts the guest a few steps beyond the house, and here they part. When the traveller is at some distance, he cries, 'God be with ye,' and fires his gun, and the host replies with, 'Good luck to thee,' and a shot from his gun. Formerly nearly all the wealthy orthodox households had special buildings for their guests ; some still retain them to this day. They were in the courtyard, and quite separate ; very often these Konacici (little palaces) had also an upper story. It must be remembered that seventy years ago there were neither inns nor taverns in Servia, Bosnia, or Herzegovina, though already in

the Middle Ages mention is made of innkeepers in the towns. A traveller in the country rested in whatever village he was overtaken by the night. Knocking at the door of the largest house, he asked if they would give him shelter, and the master or someone else replied, 'Willingly, brother, and welcome'; or sometimes the traveller was told that there was no hay for the horse, or that for some other reason he could not be put up, and was directed to another house. When a party of men were travelling together, they separated, and spent the night at different houses. In some of the larger houses hardly a day passed without a guest—sometimes a priest, sometimes a monk, perhaps a Turk, or a beggar, and so on. A guest was never allowed to depart before he had breakfasted, and a traveller stopping to ask for a light for his pipe or a drink of water was asked by the women if he was hungry, and invited to sit down to supper. In Bosnia many Begs who have adopted the faith of Islam have a building next the house for the accommodation of guests. Here a man could stay a whole month if he chose, and his horse as well as himself would be provided for without his spending a single franc, unless he gave something to the servants on leaving. The Montenegrin is still more admirable when he takes a fugitive under his roof. His door is always open to a man in distress, and his generosity is extended not only to his compatriots, but to every Christian, and even Turks, attention being paid to neither faith nor nationality, but only to the man's misfortune. There have been cases where a Montenegrin pursued a culprit to kill him, and the latter, seeking refuge in some house, was perfectly safe, and no one dared touch him.

The Greek Emperor Mauritius said of the Southern Slavs that they were very attentive to foreigners, whom they conducted through their territories, and confided to their fellow-tribesmen on their personal responsibility. The Servian Tsar Nemanya treated Frederick Barbarossa and the Crusaders with such munificent and frank hospitality at Nish that the German historians spoke of it with great praise. Tsar Dushan's Zakonik, or Codex, of 1369, promulgated at Uskub, contains a special paragraph concerning hospitality; it runs: 'Whoever refuses to admit a merchant for the night will be punished in proportion to the harm that has thereby resulted to the said merchant.' The Latin Servians—*i.e.*, the Servians under the Roman rule, especially the Dubrovcani (Ragusians), and no less the Sasi miners—were protected in all respects by numerous special laws of Servian and even Bosnian rulers. Not only were their lives protected, but also, and at all times, their possessions, some intricate cases being cited where the culprit, or a village and its surroundings, being unable to pay for the damage

done, the compensation was paid out of the ruler's own purse. During the Middle Ages the Servians also considered as semi-believers the Franks, the Allemands, the Hungars, and the Armenians, and they were legally protected and enjoyed numerous privileges. But the law counselled them not to marry Servian women, as the Servians disapproved of it.

Social and Economical Conditions.

Until quite recently there existed among village Servians strong associations called Zadrugas, and to-day their influence is still very widely felt. As a matter of fact, a Zadruga was a large family or clan, including male kinship to the second and third degree. All landed property, as well as cattle and movable property (with some exceptions), belonged exclusively to the men. When a woman married into a strange Zadruga (they could not marry into their own on account of the kinship), she seldom was given anything but her outfit. A Zadruga which did not subdivide often numbered 100 persons, or even more. Each member had a fixed duty to perform, and the revenues were common property. The Zadruga was ruled over by an elder, or stareshina, whose orders were obeyed unconditionally. It was he who decided where the young men were to go, and what they were to do. In agreement with his household, he sold all that was for sale, and made the necessary purchases. He also kept the money-box, and saw about the payment of the taxes. At prayers it was his privilege to begin and to conclude. When there were guests, he himself entertained them, and dined and supped with them. The women of the Zadruga submitted to the stareshina's wife, and this was especially the case in Montenegro. Before the death of the stareshina it was usually ascertained which of the members enjoyed the greatest confidence, and he was acknowledged the new head, often without even going through the formality of an election. Sometimes the members of a Zadruga placed in this position of authority an energetic and wise woman, and she was the stareshina whom everyone obeyed. The women of a Zadruga were on duty (*i.e.*, to cook for the whole house, etc.) at special times and in a certain order.

The revenues from the land or cattle, etc., were not divided; they were laid aside for the general requirements, and seldom for supporting members of the family. The property could not be touched by any one individual, hence even to-day, if a man (not necessarily the member of a Zadruga) is asked, 'Whose is that drove of sheep?' or 'Whose is this land?' he always replies, 'Ours,' and never 'Mine.' In addition to the important economic and social advantages appertaining to a member of a

Zadruga, they were relieved of all fear of a bad harvest or other evil, even of illness, in the same way that it must appeal to a man shifting for himself and those dependent upon him. The Servian Zadruga also played an historical part in the defence of the nation from the atrocities of the Turks; the men could easily assemble for a collective resistance, sometimes even being assisted by the armed womenfolk.

Notwithstanding its strong organization, and the spirit of community which animated the Zadruga during the past 200 years, there has been a strong separatist tendency towards private possessions, especially since Servia's deliverance from the Turks. This was aided by the fact that members gradually acquired lawful possessions outside the Zadruga which were not subject to partition, and called Osobina, or personal property. They acquired it by inheriting movable property, or by the development of revenues arising from private leases, the keeping of beehives, or of madder-land, sowing tobacco, etc. This acquisition of personal property was always viewed with misgiving, so often was it the cause of a rupture. The Osobina of the women consisted of sheep, oxen, and different articles. Ancient legal documents referring to private possessions only mention movable property, which shows that it was only at a later period that landed property also began to be regarded as private possessions. In Herzegovina, where the tribal organization has long since disappeared, a childless widow got all that was left of her husband's weapons and wearing apparel after his funeral. If she returned to her family or married again she received nothing more, but if she wished she could remain in the Zadruga all her life. In Montenegro weapons could never be transferred to another tribe, not even when a married daughter was the sole heiress; the weapons were always distributed in the tribe among the relatives of the deceased. According to the people, the reason for this was that during his lifetime it was the deceased's relatives, and not his son-in-law, who had been deprived of them.

When, through dissension or any other reason, a Zadruga was compelled to break up, the corn and other stores were divided equally among the men and women, for it was their means of subsistence until the next harvest. Landed property was divided among the brothers only. Estates which could not easily be divided were paired off two and two at their approximate value, and sticks were thrust into the ground, one representing each person. A child was then bade to pull out the sticks, and hand them one by one to each of the men. Thus, the division being made by lot, no one had any cause to complain. In Herzegovina this stick is called Brushka.

In the Montenegrin tribes of Peeper and some others the

land is divided first among the original male founders of the Zadruga. For instance, suppose there are two brothers, the land is divided into two equal parts, which are then subdivided among the male descendants, each of their shares being again divided among their descendants.

The Zadruga has, besides its economic, a religious foundation or basis, each Zadruga having its own Slava, or patron feast. That it is of remote origin is proved by its having been traced to the other Indo-Europeans. The Celts had Zadrugas at a very early period, as is testified in the Irish Brelion Laws.* Judging from numerous ancient documents, the Zadruga was in existence among the Servians during the Middle Ages—that is, during the period of freedom preceding the Turkish onslaught. According to Rovinski, who is an excellent authority on Montenegro, two to four households connected by ties of blood are called Trbushtchitchi (diminutive for Trbuh, 'stomach') in the Vassoyevitch tribe, whilst more than four families are called Trbuh. It is interesting, in this connection, to note that the ancient Maoris were divided into brotherhoods, or Trbuhs, and in their language this group was called Hapu, which means 'matrix,' and is in the stomach or womb—terms synonymous in everyday life. The Chinese say 'sin' for 'brotherhood' or Trbuh, and this word, pronounced according to its ideographic character, is a compound, one half of which means 'woman' and the other half 'to bear,' which again refers to the womb. Among the Servian peoples' brotherhood remains clearly defined only in Montenegro, where it is regulated as follows: Sons of one father are called Brats, or brothers; their sons are Bratutchtsi; the sons of these are Bratanitchi; and, again, the sons of these latter are Bratsvenitsi, and so on. Montenegrins count pure kinship down to the seventh degree, and consider that such kinship constitutes a single family, and intermarriage is therefore impossible. Anyone transgressing the law in this respect is shunned as a godless renegade. Down to this seventh generation all the members of a family belong to one Brastvo or brotherhood, and often have one surname, and keep one Slava. The ancient Aryans counted pure kinship to the sixth degree, for all Sapinda—*i.e.*, all members of a family and its head—lived under the same roof, and held common property down to that degree. A Brastvo may live in several villages, but the kinship is not forgotten, and the members take part in common in a combat. At present the common property of a Brastvo consists of meadows and forests; fields for ploughing which are hedged in have always been regarded as the private property of a family or Zadruga. Landed property, such as mountains, hills, pastures, mill-streams, and other water is all

* See Maine's 'Lectures on the Early History of Institutions.'

divided among Brastvos, who even possess each their own churches. The names of many villages are patronymics derived from Brastvos. They build their houses on elevated spots safe from floods and hostile attacks.

Montenegro is divided into seven tribes, which were formed from two or more Brastvos connected by blood ties. It seldom occurred, and never successfully, that a strange Brastvo associated itself to a tribe ; such a Brastvo received the name Poselitsa, which means 'new-comers' who form a Brastvo, and no longer belong to their consanguineous tribe. Each tribe honours its great-grandfather (never a female relative) or its ancestor who first settled in Montenegro, and whose name it bears. For instance, the present Vassoyevitch tribe is called after its ancestor Vasso, who immigrated to Montenegro. Each tribe has a tale of its own concerning its settlement in the land, but it is always connected with some ancestor.

All members of a Montenegrin tribe are considered to be kinsmen, hence wives are chosen from another tribe (exogamy), the exception being the Tsrnitchi, who prefer to wed those of their own tribe. The fact of families not intermarrying was one reason why the original inhabitants soon became extinct, for the girls were demanded in marriage by the new-comers.

Formerly, besides the Bishop who governed Montenegro (theocracy), a Sirdar governed a Nahiye (composed of several tribes), and each Nahiye had its Voivode or chieftain, its tribal prince, and its standard-bearer ; these dignities were hereditary. Brastvos each had their prince, who performed the duty of a sort of municipal functionary during peace-time, and a sort of secondary clan-governor during war. A Voivode could only be a man who had distinguished himself by unusual valour in battle. The Sirdar, Voivode, and prince were called chieftains, or Glavari. At the death of a chieftain who left a son behind him all the other chieftains assembled, and after partaking of food and drink, installed the son in his father's place in the following manner : The oldest chieftain put his arm around the young man, and turning him three times, said : 'Come, my son, to your father's place, and be, as your forefathers, a happy and honourable tribal chief.' Hereupon all the others jump to their feet, and fire three shots from their guns.

Brastvos and tribes among all pastoral peoples (such as the Montenegrins) are of a strictly patriarchal character. The Brastvo and, in a more general sense, also the tribe is a sort of social and religious association, the best proof being that they all celebrate the same Slava—*i.e.*, they have the same patron saint for themselves and their property. These institutions rest on an offensive and defensive basis more than upon economical principles. They are both a very cumbersome and

unelastic social apparatus in peace-time, for it is incapable of regulating legal matters. Suppose one of its members guilty of a misdeed, he cannot easily be punished, for the execution of such duties is not organized. It is rare that a tribe pronounces and carries out a sentence; the tendency is to remedy the harm, or even to hide the misdeed. As soon as this tribal individualism vanishes the State supremacy appears, indicating the ultimate end of the tribe. The extensive pastures where the cattle graze in summer belong to the entire tribe, all of whose Brastvos may profit thereby. Should a man, wedding a girl or widow from another tribe, go to live in his wife's home, he ceases to bear his old tribal name, and takes that of his wife's tribe; such a man is called Uliez. He is also obliged to take the Slava of his new tribe, though he may commemorate his former Slava in a quiet way.

In Servia, and still more in other Servian lands, parents prefer to have a son rather than a daughter born to them, the male line always being of more importance than the female. It is interesting to note how eager the women are to have a son, and how many sisters give up their lives for their brothers, or how much more grandmothers rejoice over the birth of a grandson than over a granddaughter. 'When a male child is born, the ninth house sings; when a female child is born, even the ninth house weeps,' say the old women. A Montenegrin fires his gun when a son is born to him. 'I have a little son, and, forgive me, two daughters,' he says. There are some who do not mention their daughters when asked how many children they have. On meeting, it is customary for the man to greet the woman with the words, 'God assist ye,' and she replies, 'God assist thyself.' A traveller must always greet a man sitting or standing in this way, and the latter is bound to reply, for it is considered a privilege to call for God's assistance, and a duty to reply to it. A woman may never return the greeting while sitting, but must jump to her feet; if she is spinning, she must thrust her spindle behind her. A Servian woman may never cross the road when a man is passing. When the women lay the table for supper, they first of all place the bread and salt upon the table, then wash their hands and make the sign of the cross, and the eldest man present divides all the food which is not eaten with a spoon, giving a portion to each according to his strength and merits; no one begins to eat before him. It is more usual for the women to eat with the men than apart with the children. Whatever number of men enter a house, their hands are kissed by the womenfolk; even old women kiss the hands of youths young enough to be their sons. The respect and awe with which a husband is regarded is also evident from the fact that the wife never calls him by his name,

and that, in speaking of him, she describes him or calls him by the pronoun 'he'; to the children she says, 'Tata (papa) has said so-and-so,' or, 'Your father has brought you such and such a thing.'

Throughout the Servian lands the woman is considerably more burdened with work than the man. She is the first to rise in the morning, and the last to retire at night. During the day she has no time to rest, doing the entire housework, and also a certain portion of purely man's work. She spins, weaves, washes, knits, sews, embroiders, cooks, makes bread, milks the cows, makes cheese, minds the children, nurses the sick (male and female), usually doctoring them herself, for she is generally both a herbalist and a masseuse. It is generally the woman who, during the summer months, makes the earthenware crockery used for the whole house. In peasants' cottages bread is not baked in the oven, but the dough is put into a sort of earthen dish called Tsrepulya, and covered with embers, and left to slowly bake. These earthen dishes are made by the women in the most primitive manner possible, and only in summer, when the greatest heat prevails. In Berani in Turkey, near Montenegro, the women dig out the potter's clay, pound it with an axe, and after adding some goat's-hair, pour on hot water, and work the paste with their hands. First they draw it out and form the rim, and then mark the middle with a cross, which they perforate for the hook that is to draw it from the fire. Cold ashes are then strewn over the dish two or three times in order to absorb any moisture. When this is done, it is placed in live coals covered with ashes, where it is left for the night, after which it is ready for use. The women never use a potter's wheel for the shaping. In Montenegro it is also the women who make the Opanke (a species of shoe) for the whole house, and as they are the only footgear worn in that country, the demand for them is great.

In the south and south-east of Servia generally there are about 200 nomads, who neither possess land nor work for hire, but exist by keeping large flocks of black sheep, selling 'Cacio Cavallo' cheese, butter, and lambs. In Servia, and especially in Turkey, their mother-tongue is a very broken Greek. It is their women who build their large wooden cabins, whose form is identical with that of the Jurtez in Central Asia, being sometimes just as large. It is the men, however, who do the milking—a general rule of nomads. The Hottentot women, for instance, build the huts, but do nothing about the cattle. In Herzegovina both men and women tend the cattle; a Servian woman also does field-work. She reaps the wheat with a sickle, rakes up the hay, and builds the haystacks, and draws the water for the house and for the men outside. Girls tend the

flocks while spinning or embroidering, and plant and sow the vegetables, and do the weeding. They help the men thresh, and carry the bags of wheat into the house. Threshing is done by horses in all Servian lands except Montenegro, where it is drubbed. The reason for this is the scarcity of horses, and the necessity of having the husks whole for the roofing of the houses. In Montenegro it is a disgrace for a man to carry a burden on his back; this is done by the women. The women from Passhtrovitch, in Dalmatia, never carry anything on their backs, but on their heads. In Leskovats, in Servia, they also carry the heavy burdens on their heads. In time of war the women act as 'Vivandières,' bringing both food and ammunition. In some parts of Montenegro adjoining Dalmatia the women are regarded as beasts of burden, carrying wood, dried meat, fish, etc., on their backs to and fro between the mountains and the sea-coast. When a heavy snowfall makes it impossible for horses to draw goods up from Cattaro, the Montenegrins, mostly the women, take up burdens of 30 to 50 kilogrammes, and carry them uphill a distance of seven hours' walk. On account of the excellent industry of their women, the Montenegrins often say, 'A house is not based on the ground, but upon a woman,' or, 'There is no home without a housewife.' Notwithstanding that woman is made such an indefatigable living machine of in Montenegro, men never act as tyrants, nor beat or scold them.

In Servia the equality of the male and female is more established. It is only the men who plough, dig, sow, reap, plant vines, grind flour, and slay the poultry and cattle; a woman would never consent to do the latter at any price. The differences arise from the fact that Montenegro is a tribal and pastoral land, while Servia is more agricultural, although more than half of her total export consists of cattle and their produce. In a family all the authority is vested in the man. In war-time he is the defender, and all the booty acquired belongs to him. After his death it is his son who keeps the Slava, and offers sacrifices for the repose of his soul, and for the souls of the departed stareshinas of the Zadruga, and for kinsmen in other Brastvos.

It has been mentioned that tribes continue to exist among pastoral peoples, and that cattle-rearing is a purely masculine occupation with them, which developed out of hunting—a pursuit exclusively followed by men. To the cattle-rearer his wife is a slave, since she is obtained (by the more primitive cattle-rearers, at any rate) through abduction, or bought like any other article. Hence the unlimited power over wives, and the latter's hard and unworthy position among cattle-rearers in general.

Before the reign of Bishop Danilo, divorce was prevalent in Montenegro. A man of a powerful Brastvo, for no other reason than that he 'no longer cared for her,' could give his wife a small allowance and drive her away. The sum usually paid for this was fifty thalers. Such acts were frequently the cause of deadly hatred between two houses, or even two tribes. Autocratic chieftains frequently drove away their wives because they bore female instead of male children, and then remarried. It is very characteristic, from a historical legal point of view, that a Montenegrin gives the name of 'slaves' to the members of his household. Until quite recently the Montenegrins, a purely pastoral and warlike people, had fought a life and death struggle against the Turks for 400 years, and never fell under their rule. Hence it is easy to understand why the Montenegrins considered it unworthy of themselves to take up any trade. For example, until fifty years ago there was not a single Montenegrin in the land who was a blacksmith, this trade being exclusively confined to the Tsigans or gypsies. In all other Servian regions crafts and trades are highly valued, and hence the popular saying, 'Craft is golden.' In Servian medieval documents of the 13th century names of Servian blacksmiths are often mentioned as skilful in the fabrication of penknives, and hence as important benefactors of the monasteries.

Customs.

The customs, like the languages of the various Indo-European peoples, though radically connected, differ widely from each other. Being very ancient, Servian customs have something of a pagan character; and in this they accord to a great extent with those of the other Aryans. That which does not accord is purely Servian, and due to the national temperament, as well as to the climate, flora and fauna; while a few customs have been adopted from the original inhabitants.

The Servian peasantry, children included, abstain from meat, eggs, or milk food for forty-five days before Christmas, and feed on vegetables and fruit. Fish is the only nourishing food that can be taken, but can only be acquired in river districts, and only in small quantities, as the Servians are very unskilful in the art of fishing. Christmas is eagerly awaited, as much on account of the physical exhaustion caused by abstaining as because of its being the greatest Church feast. It is preceded by several lesser national feasts, where the customs are of a pagan character, as are also the Christmas rites performed in the homes. On the 3rd of December, the eve of St. Barbarosa, the children sing Advent hymns. On this night all sorts of grain and vegetables are boiled together

in a pot of water. This concoction is called Varitsa, and is supposed to forecast the weather of the coming year, foretell any deaths in the family, and so on. Each member of the household must taste the Varitsa, and some is also given to the cattle. In Servia it is customary to give it to the fowls on Christmas morning before they have anything else. On the Sunday preceding that immediately before Christmas is held the Mothers' Feast, or Materise. Each mother of a family prepares gifts for her children, and as soon as they have gone to bed she puts the presents under her pillow or in the window, and when the children wake next morning, which they should do before her, they hurry out of bed and tie her feet with a string. Until she has purchased her freedom with the gifts she has prepared they will not loosen her bonds. On this day children also visit their relatives and friends, who give them fruits and sweets. The Otsi, or Fathers' Feast, falls on the Sunday preceding Christmas, and the children bind their father in the same manner, and he also pays his ransom in gifts. The day before Christmas Eve is called Tutsin Dan, for it is then that a pig or ewe is slaughtered (Tuce) for the Christmas dinner. In some parts it is first struck on the head with a lump of salt, and then slaughtered with a knife.

Christmas Eve is a busy day for the housewife. Among her other tasks she has the whole house to clean and decorate with ivy, as is done with mistletoe in England. At daybreak of Christmas Eve a male member of each household sets out to fetch a yule-log, or Badnjak, from the woods. He may even go to a strange forest for the purpose, and no one will accuse him of theft. He must choose a straight and handsome young tree of the oak genus. When he has chosen his tree, he stands before it, and turning his face eastwards, uncovers his head and repeats a prayer. Then he draws on a pair of gloves in honour of the act he is about to perform, and after scattering some corn over the tree, he embraces it, saying: "Good-morning, and a happy Christmas to you." Raising his axe, he strikes the tree, and another member of the household, who has accompanied him, receives the first chip in his hands. This is kept in the dairy, so that the cream may be thick; or among the beehives, that the bees may prosper. The Badnjak should fall straight to the ground without catching in the branches of other trees. The lower part is stripped of its branches, but twigs are left on the top, and are symbolic of a well-adorned year—*i.e.*, a fruitful year. In some districts one Badnjak is not considered sufficient, and it is therefore divided into two or three parts; or, as in the Department of Belgrade, two trees are cut down—one a young Zerreiche (common oak), the more important of the two, and

the other a Granibza (a sort of oak). In Dalmatia every male member of a household has his own Badnjak, and these are all laid crosswise over the largest, which belongs to the master of the house. In Podibar three logs are put on the fire, the largest being the Badnjak, the second the Badnjacitsa, and the third the Dete (child). The three are supposed to represent Joseph, Mary, and the infant Jesus. When the Badnjak (or Badnjaks) are brought home from the forest, it is leant against the eastern wall of the house, where it remains until dusk. In honour of the Badnjak, which is looked upon as sacred, it is required that all the inmates should, if possible, dress neatly for its reception into the house. In the evening the housewife lights two candles at the entrance, where one of the menfolk takes up his stand, holding a sieve of corn. The master puts on his gloves—for he must not touch the sacred log with his bare hands—and taking it up with the stouter end (the 'head') forward, he carries it into the house. In the Nish region it is wrapped or 'dressed' in a new shirt, as though it was a living being (idol). As the master crosses the threshold he is greeted by the housewife and other inmates with, 'Good-evening, and a happy Christmas Eve to you.'

The man with the sieve scatters corn over him and his burden. With measured pace he advances to the hearth, and drawing the Badnjak thrice forward, he places it on the fire. In Dalmatia the log is decked with laurel, and sometimes even with golden threads. In some districts it is given wine to drink—*i.e.*, wine poured over it.

The master of the house puts some salt, a silver coin, and some honey on the log (in some districts also a cake rubbed over with honey). Everyone present must put the tip of his tongue to the honey, after which there is a general embrace over the Badnjak. Prayers are then read by the light of wax candles, and the Badnjak and every corner of the house is fumigated with incense. The silver coin and the handful of corn which have been lying on the log are mixed with the corn to be sown that year, in order to bring blessing upon the harvest.

The housewife brings in a bundle of straw, and imitating the cackling of a hen, she strews it all over the floor; in this she is assisted by the children, who follow her chirping like chickens. Before supper the table and chairs, as well as all iron articles, are taken out. A sack made of goats'-hair is then spread on the straw, when the whole family (sometimes servants included) sit down to the meal. On this night all are equal, and are united in brotherly affection. No bad thoughts must be harboured, and the children are made to keep quiet and not quarrel. After supper seeds and crumbs are scattered outside as a treat for the birds, which are also God's own creatures.

This is the only eve of a great feast when no sorceries with harmful intent may be practised. All passions must be quelled, and none but good deeds performed during the day. 'On Christmas Eve no harm must be caused, or may a black Christmas dawn for him.'

On Christmas Eve the housewife makes a great many ritual cakes, of various prescribed shapes and sizes, for each of the household, also for the sheep, oxen, horses, bees, fields, etc. Each of these cakes is eaten by the person for whom it was destined, and the cattle, etc., get their portion. A round cake is made in Podimavlje, which is called Suntse (sun), and another in the shape of a crescent, which is called Mesets (moon). Everyone must eat of these cakes at the Christmas dinner. In Srem another cake also is made, called Vlashitchis (pleiades).

On Christmas Eve—oftenest during the night—the roast is prepared for the morrow. In Servia it is generally a sucking-pig, white-skinned if possible, that is roasted, while in Dalmatia it is a sheep, preferably black. (In Sika it is roasted beside the Badnjak.) In Servia an apple or nut is put into the animal's mouth, and in Herzegovina and Dalmatia the roast is decked with rosemary and ivy. As soon as it is ready the master of the house fires a pistol; that is why firing is heard from all sides through this night. In Shumadiya a lighted wax candle is fixed on the spit in honour of the occasion. About midnight that portion of the Badnjak which was on the fire should burn out, and lest, falling, it should knock against the hearth (it has already been mentioned that the Badnjak is considered sacred), it is watched by one of the young men, who receives it in gloved hands and lays it carefully on the hearth. He is rewarded for this by a silver coin from the master.

Everything tends to show that the Badnjak was an idol during pagan times, and that it was symbolic of the sun's return after winter's darkness. The fact that it was hewn down and brought in by a man, that no woman was at liberty to touch it from the moment it was laid upon the hearth, that it was caught and received by a man when it fell asunder, that it was wrapped in a shirt, etc., shows that it was regarded as a male idol. One may also conclude that the Badnjak is of solar origin, because some of the cakes bear the name of the sun itself, while those representative of the moon and pleiades are reminiscent of the heavens and cosmos in general. The Badnjak is supposed to sanctify, not only the hearth, but the whole house. The charred remains and ashes are used as medicaments for man, beast, and even plants, pieces of it being fixed to fruit-trees, and its ashes being sprinkled on cabbages to preserve them from destructive insects. All this proves clearly that the Badnjak has citharistic-apotropic virtue.

Early Christmas morning each house is visited by a young man of the neighbourhood called Polaznik, and no stranger may enter the house before him—not even the priest. Everybody cannot be a Polaznik, but only a person whom the household loves and desires to have for its first visitor on that day. A healthy youth is always chosen, and one free from all physical defects. If possible, he should also be of good family. He is awaited with impatience and welcomed with joy, for all prosperity of house and field are supposed to depend upon him. On entering he greets the master, and, crossing himself, he kisses the Badnjak, and strikes it in such a way that a myriad of sparks fly out. Meanwhile he calls down blessings thus: 'As many sparks as there are here may there be of lambs, calves, good harvests, male children, and every good fortune.' After he has finished, he lays a coin on the hearth.

When the church-bells ring, all make the sign of the cross, saying: 'Assist us, O God, on this morning.' Dressed in their best, all hurry towards the church, which is soon filled with devout worshippers. In Herzegovina, Dalmatia, and Montenegro the men gird on their weapons and throw their mantles (Struka) over the long gun slung across their shoulders. After the Matins are sung the service is begun, and the building resounds with the popular hymns:

1. 'Rejoice, O Sion . . .'

2. 'Glory to the Highest!
Sing, all ye faithful!
For ye the Christ to-day was born,
And in a humble manger laid. . . .'

3. 'At the end of the ages
God was of a Virgin born. . . .'

When the service terminated, the congregation came forward to kiss the Ikon and to receive his blessing and the holy bread from the priest. In northern lands the priest embraces each person twice, saying: 'God's peace reign among you, for Christ is born. Let us bow before God and the birth of Christ.' They reply: 'In truth, He is born, and hail to you.' Until recently it was customary for those who had been at feud to embrace and make their peace after the service. Lest foes might be unwilling to embrace, the priest and the Prefect stood beside them and compelled them to make their reconciliation. The priest was wont to address them thus: 'Brethren, it is God's will that there be peace on earth and good-will among men to-day, and whosoever disobeys this command of God draws down a heavy curse upon his home.'

On Christmas Day the master of the house—seldom the mistress—makes a particular kind of cake, called Tchesnitsa,

into which different-shaped pieces of wood are inserted. Each of these represents some branch of agriculture; for instance, one will be for bees, another for sheep, etc. Each person is given that branch to care for which is represented by the wooden figure he finds in his piece of cake, for it is deemed he will be successful in this for the following year. A silver coin is also baked in the cake, and its finder is supposed to have luck in buying and selling during that year. Designs are carved on the Tchesnitsa with a sprig of basilic from the bunch lying under the Ikon. It is laid on the table before anything else, and everyone gets a piece of it. In Planinitsa it was never eaten, but preserved as 'God's cake.'

All the terms for everything at Christmas have been improved by euphemism. In some parts, for example, the Badnjak, roast, first visitor, etc., all receive names which are derivations of 'glad,' 'cheerful,' 'joyous,' etc. Even such usual remarks as 'The log is burnt' or 'Extinguish the candle' are replaced by similar derivations. Of the Christmas roast, one says it breathes peace as no other during the year. During the Christmas dinner a wax candle is lit, and everyone looks for his shadow on the wall. He who has a headless shadow or a neck too long is supposed to be doomed to die within the year. After dinner the harvest prospects, the future of all members of the family, or even of the Sovereign, and, finally, the probability of war, are augured by means of the shoulder of the roast. In Eastern Servia the women go to the cemetery early on Christmas morning to burn incense and pour wine over the graves of their dead, and then distribute cakes among the poor. These cakes were no doubt originally intended for the dead. The Julfest (Anglo-Saxon *Geohhol*) of the pagan Germans occurred at the same date as Christmas. It was generally believed that the souls of the dead floated through the air on that day, and various memorial services were performed, wherein the deceased were symbolically represented. This is still done in some of the Servian districts. The similarity of these customs is due to their common origin among Indo-European peoples. The Julfest lasted twelve days, hence in England it is called Twelfth Day. In Servia the days from Christmas to Epiphany are called the unchristian Days. It is possible that the Servians gave this name in order to remove the Christmas character from these days. It is a popular belief that ghosts wander about the earth at this time; hence it is only in case of absolute necessity that anyone leaves the house at night.

Without exception every Servian keeps a feast on some day of the year, and this is called his Slava or Krsno Ime. The Slava generally falls on the feast-day of some great Saint;

the most popular are St. Nicholas, Michel the Archangel, St. John, etc. A couple of days before the Slava a priest comes to bless a vessel of water, which has been prepared for the purpose. After he has done so, he asperses with a bunch of Basilienkraut the Ikon of the saint who is the Slava's patron, and also the inmates of the house. On the eve of the feast the lamp hanging before the Ikon is lit, and must burn incessantly during the whole of the next day. A dish of boiled wheat (Koljivo) and a particular kind of cake (Slavski kolac) are prepared for the Slava. On that day they are incensed and blessed by the priest, who then pours wine over them, and, assisted by the master of the house or his son, cuts the cake. For the Feast of St. Elias and Michel the Archangel, Koljivo is not prepared, since it is an offering for the dead, and these saints are believed to be still living. A wax candle which has been lit by the priest burns till night, when it is extinguished by pouring wine over it; it must never be blown out. Of the visitors who come to the Slava, all the men embrace the master, and the women the mistress of the house. On entering, instead of the usual greeting, they say, 'Happy Slava!' The host must be on his feet all day, welcoming and entertaining his guests. A maiden serves them with Koljivo, of which everyone is obliged to take a spoonful, and then—in the towns—with jam, cakes, and whisky or wine, according as it is the forenoon or afternoon. Since the saint whose feast is celebrated is the patron of the house, his intercession with God is always solicited at prayers. After a man's death it is the same Slava which is kept by his sons, and they transmit it to their male offspring, and so on. In some regions families who keep the same Slava consider that therefore they are related, and do not intermarry. This may be justified, for often the same Slava is celebrated by a whole tribe, its members being all descended from the same stock. In South-Eastern Servian lands a priest must come into the house on the Slava day to conduct a memorial service for the dead, and he must light the candle which has been stuck into the Kolac. The Kolac (which is offered as a sacrifice for the departed), the commemoration of the dead, etc., all prove the reverence of the Servians for their deceased ancestors. Having ascertained that the Slava is held in token of respect toward the deceased—especially the male ancestors, who kept the same feast—we may also assert that the sacrifice (Koljivo) and the lighted wax candle and lamp likewise refer to the ancestors. A woman is almost a stranger in a family, for she comes from her father's Slava to that of her husband's; hence she is not entitled to cut the cake or light or extinguish the wax candle, but must be content to take part in the ordinary

preparations for the Slava, like any of the serving women. With the Romans and Greeks it was likewise only the son who could perform those rites on which depended the welfare of the dead ancestors. A Roman believed that his son's sacrifices and worship on the graves of his ancestors were most efficacious with the gods. Cicero reproached Claudius for having entered a Plebeian family, and thus sinned against the religion of his gens—which means that he had adopted another patron.

The third joyous feast is Easter, for which one prepares by seven weeks' abstinence. On Holy Thursday the bells are silent, but the sounds of wooden clappers fill the air, and Christians are filled with holy awe. In the evening the vigils are attended at church, and, meditating on the Passion of Christ, it may be truly said that never do the people pray more devoutly. Early on Good Friday Matins are sung, after which the grave of Christ is laid out with the Linteum. This is to be kissed by old and young, and an offering, however small, to be dropped into the plate beside it. If the weather is fine, crowds are to be seen abroad all day, for no work is done, and everyone dresses in his best, and hastens to worship at the Lord's grave. On Holy Saturday the 'Christ' is buried, and the world subsides in prayer. Thirty days before Easter the mistress of the house and her daughters begin to decorate the eggs, sometimes with very pretty and original designs. On Easter Eve they are dyed in different colours, though mostly in red, and the designs, which have been sketched with wax, remain intact. At Easter every visitor is presented with an egg, and children get quite a number, and amuse themselves with them during all three days of Easter. One child grasps his egg firmly, and another raps on it with his own. He whose egg is the harder gets his opponent's broken one. Gipsy musicians, going from house to house, also contribute to the meriment of the inmates with song and tune. On the first day of Easter in Tchoka, and on the second day in Bashanda (Banat), and in some neighbouring villages, all the inhabitants go in procession to the cemetery. First come the Church banners, then the Rhipis (a sort of fan used in Greek churches) and candelabra borne by schoolboys, next the men bearing the canopy, then the priest, and after him the crowd, all dressed in their best, the women carrying cakes and eggs. On tables in the churchyard lists have been prepared of the names of the dead in each family, and these are prayed for by the priest. Afterwards he pours wine and reads prayers over the graves, and the women distribute their cakes and eggs among the poor, for the souls of the departed. Those who can afford to do so light candles on the graves.

We have seen that the three great feasts of the Serbs are the Slava, Christmas, and Easter, and that on all three the dead are honoured, and something done for the repose of their souls. Hence we may conclude that the Zadushnitse (commemoration of the dead) was relegated to those three days in the old pagan times; and, further, we may give credence to the scientific hypothesis that the root of every form of worship lies in the rites performed for the dead. Yet I cannot altogether agree with those scholars who maintain that the oldest form of worship is other than worship of Nature. Christmas and Easter, for instance, are inseparably associated with two solar constellations. The Badnjak may also be looked upon as a renovated idol, for it is a new log that is lit every year, and that sheds a generous light through the house—so large a fire is never otherwise made on the hearth—just as the sun shines in the sky on that day when, according to popular belief, it returns to shed a stronger light on the earth, and to fortify with its warmth. The people also believe that Satan—in Montenegro they call it the 'Emperor Diocletian'—who is chained, is constantly gnawing his fetters, and that they fall asunder on Christmas Day, when he succeeds in setting fire to the world. A gipsy is also believed to fasten the chain by striking each time with his hammer on the anvil.

Legal Customs.

It has been established as a general principle that certain legal *normas* and researches are universally repeated in the world, and hence have lost their ethnical individuality. This principle is especially applicable when comparisons are made between different Indo-European peoples, such as the English and the Servians.

The vendetta (or Krvna osveta, as it is called in Servian), which existed among all primitive people for the settlement of disputes, was common in Servia until her deliverance from the Turks, and in Montenegro until 1855, when tribal customs which had hitherto regulated social relations were compelled to give way before the strong rule that had been established. In Old Servia, especially in the Kossovo Villayet, where Turkish rule had always been void, the vendetta is still in force among the Servians, as well as among the Albanians. The most frequent causes of the vendetta are of a pastoral and economic nature. Quarrels frequently occur over pasture-lands, and especially at the springs, which are very few in Montenegro and Albania. There are, of course, various other causes of dissension, and sometimes whole families, Brastvos, or even tribes, bear rancour towards each other for the mis-

deeds of their forefathers. With the Albanians the demand for revenge is even more terrible. When a doctor of the people trepans a patient, and the patient dies, the family demand in compensation the doctor's head, or that of some member of his family. In case of an insult or murder, not only are the father, brother, son, and near relatives called upon to take revenge, but even entire Brastvos, tribes, and Nahiye. Revenge or a money compensation must be had even after a hundred years. The relatives of a man who has been slain always preserve his bloodstained garments as an incitement to revenge. Formerly, when a powerful enemy entered the land, the vendetta was temporarily laid aside. When a Krvnik (one guilty of murder) is obliged to go to work, or for any reason to leave the house, he first sends his Pobratim or a friend of the dead man's family to demand a month's reprieve, or as long as he desires. This is called Besa (literally, 'trust'). If he obtains it, he might freely enter even the house itself of the murdered man. In general the harshness of the vendetta may be greatly mitigated. It is not an infrequent occurrence that immediately after a murder the murderer seeks refuge under the roof of some of the dead man's family, and thus 'places himself into their hands.' In this case they safeguard him for the sake of their own pride; and if he is in imminent peril there, they conduct him to other friends or kinsmen, and these on their part conduct him elsewhere, according to the arrangements made. Once he is out of their hands, however, they all watch for an opportunity to kill him. Grahovo, on the boundaries of Herzegovina, Dalmatia, and Montenegro, was at one time considered a neutral territory, where a murderer dare not be slain. Other sanctuaries for the fugitive were churches and cemeteries. This recalls the decisions of the ecclesiastical councils of the 6th and 9th centuries, by which criminals were protected in certain circumstances. In ancient times, for instance, when the delinquent took refuge in the sacred wood, the Celts and Germans withheld capital punishment from him. It is still a rule that no boys under fifteen are to be slain, and no women whatever. Hence, when blood has been shed by some family and it is threatened with reprisals (vendetta), only the women and boys under fifteen belonging to it are to be seen working in the fields, while the men remain in stone towers, which have been built for the purpose, and watch through the loopholes for the enemy.

When it becomes apparent that the hostile parties desire to become reconciled, a few men are chosen from the Vassoyevitch tribe (on the Montenegrin frontier, but under the dominion of the Turks), to whom is entrusted the task of settling the matter. These men are called Kmets. As a demonstration

of desire for reconciliation, the Kmets, on the part of the murderer (Kronik), take five or six small children, chiefly boys, each in his cradle, and, accompanied by the mothers and a number of men—often up to 200—set out for the bereaved house. On arriving in front of it, each Kmet takes up a cradle and advances with solemn mien and measured pace, and he who has the most stentorian voice cries : 'We implore Peter and Paul (or whatever their names be), the brothers of the murdered man, and all his family and kinsmen, for an alliance on behalf of Slavko (the name of the murderer, whatever it is) and his family, and submit to your mercy and bow our heads.' The murderer follows them with the mothers of the infants; he has his yatagan, or the gun with which he committed the murder, hanging from his neck. If the murdered man's family does not come out to welcome them, the Kmets turn the cradles upside down. The children cannot fall out, for they are firmly bound in with straps. In order to deliver them from this painful position, the bereaved relatives now rush forth, turn the cradles right side up, and embrace the children, after which they embrace the Kmets and the rest of the party. The nearest relative of the dead man removes the weapon from the murderer's neck and embraces him. Their peace is then sealed by the religious ceremony of Kumljenje, by which the nearest relative of the deceased becomes the Kum or 'sponsor' of the murderer. The other relatives of the reconciled families also enter into sponsorship with each other. The Krvnina or money compensation which must be paid to the murdered man's family amounts to 1,600 francs in the Vassoyevitch tribes. The Arnauts demand a larger sum. Part of the sum goes to reward the Kmets, and to defray the expenses of the large banquet, usually attended by about 200 persons. Formerly the family of the deceased addressed the relatives of the murderer thus: 'Give us the dagger of So-and-so, the silver-mounted pistol of So-and-so,' etc., and everyone willingly gave what was demanded. Sometimes, however, compassion was felt for the murderer, and nobody took anything, for generally his entire property was absorbed in thus bringing about a reconciliation, and he and his offspring were left destitute. Both with the Servians and the Arnauts the entire onus of the proceedings and the expenses—by no means inconsiderable—were born by the murderer. But communal tendencies, of which the Zadruga is so strongly representative, enabled him to look upon his whole tribe as his family, and he was thus enabled to solicit voluntary grants from the other members of his Brastvo or his tribe. Often a man who is well off in his house, but unable to meet the sum required, is compelled to ask for assistance in the

villages; but what he receives he does not look upon as alms, for he will soon repay his debt by rendering a similar service. Often a murderer receives in this way more than he requires for the expenses of reconciliation, but no one reproaches him with it. This is but a brief account of the ceremony; moreover, it varies considerably in different regions. When there is a reconciliation between Servians and Catholic Malisors, it is Pobratimstvo (brotherhood), and not Kumstvo (sponsorship), which is established between them. The ceremony is performed as follows: A Servian and a Malisor each cut his finger; they mix the blood, and then drink it. It is a member of the dead man's family who must first touch his lips to the mixture.

The vendetta must be interpreted in a milder sense than is usually attributed to it, for its cause is never dishonourable. For instance, when a man kills another who has been convicted of theft, or who has dishonoured his sister or daughter, the family or tribe will neither demand his head nor seek revenge, but will simply say 'He was a scoundrel,' which ends the matter. The first cause of bloodshed is usually an over-exaggerated sense of honour, a misunderstanding of legal intercourse, or even through superstition. All national progress is gradual; so, too, the mitigation of brutal measures was only slowly developed. The inhabitants of Ragusa were the most cultured Servians of the Middle Ages, and from their republic numerous humane institutions, technical discoveries, and various refining influences were transplanted into the Balkan Peninsula. It was they who in 1308 advised the Servian King Milutin to discontinue the practice of fining a Ragusan who happened to kill a Servian who had killed a Ragusan. They proposed that the Vrazda (fine for murder) be replaced by capital punishment for the murderer, be he Servian or Ragusan. The King did not consent to this, on the plea that he did not wish to trample on the usages of his forefathers, not because he wished to preserve the life of his subjects. But that to which he could not consent was done by Tsar Dushan, who, in his famous codex, prohibited the vendetta, and ordered murderers to be brought before the courts. The Bosno-Herzegovinan rulers were equally humane, and by legal measures endeavoured to prevent murder for revenge.

The influences of civilization came to the Servians in the south from Byzantium, and in the west through Ragusa, Venice, and beyond. But with the Turkish onslaught the western road leading to Servia across Herzegovina fell into a deplorable condition, so that neither pedlars, merchants, nor tradesmen, nor Ragusan Consuls, could longer use it. The imperial road from Constantinople across Plovdiv and Sofia

to Nish and Belgrade was only used by the Turks, who burnt and killed wherever they could. Hence no wonder that the memory of former laws and regulations faded away in the minds of the Servians. Disputes became more savage, and the primitive manner of settling them—the vendetta—was once more reverted to.

Until recently another interesting legal custom existed in South-Eastern Servia. While this region was still under the Turks the inhabitants protected themselves from evil-doers by the *curse*—often an effective remedy, for the men of that time were generally more pious and superstitious than now. For instance, when an incendiary could not be found, and fined or killed, the male adults all assembled outside the village, bringing with them some half-charred beams of the burnt house. They constructed a cross of these, and stuck it into the earth; then each took up a stone and cursed the incendiary thus: 'May God strike him dead; may his offspring perish; may his house be ruined,' etc. When the imprecation was finished, the stones were flung at the cross, around which a regular heap was formed, called Prokletija (execration). When a murderer or any other miscreant was cursed, the heap of stones had no cross. These heaps of stones can still be seen, and passers-by always throw on another stone, that the testimony of evil may be preserved. In curses where the Prokletija is built up God is invoked, for in such cases the crime is a heavy one; but for lesser misdeeds His name is not mentioned, but invocation is made to other factors, thus: 'By this bread,' 'May I never eat salt again,' 'May your goodness kill me' (pointing to his head), 'By my brother's life,' 'By my soul,' 'By my life,' 'By my death-bed candle,' 'So help me, Heaven,' 'By the earth,' 'By the fire,' etc.

In the old national epics the heroes swear thus: 'May my right hand never wither,' 'May the good steed never lose his name,' 'May my sharp sword never grow rusty.' A very curious oath was formerly in use in Montenegro. When a man had been robbed, or had suffered some injury, and complained against the culprit, the latter—since he himself could no longer be believed—chose some honest men to swear for him in church. These brought a certain number of male children, and put them in front of the altar, sitting beside them. Those to whom they addressed their assertion stood in front of them, and one of them—the least versed in these matters—holding a cross in his hands, conjured them thus: 'If you know this, and tell us that you do not, may God curse you, so that the child be petrified in the woman, the calf in the cow, the lamb in the dam, the seed in the earth,' etc. The compurgators replied, 'Amen.' The accused was then exonerated, but had to pay

a sum of money (Okleshtina), according to his means, to his compurgators.

The 'Judgment of God' (Mazija) is also a general Indo-European institution, and was practised by the Servians until 1819. When a man was accused of theft and denied the charge on oath, a piece of red-hot iron or stone was dropped into a cauldron of boiling water, and the defendant had to turn up his sleeves and draw out the iron. If he was innocent, it was believed that his hands would not be scorched. The original idea of the ordeal lies in the oath, for the oldest form of oath was a malediction on self. The ordeal was very common in the West. It is only mentioned once in Byzantium, and then as a foreign and Occidental institution. It was unknown in the Servian towns of Southern Dalmatia, but here torture was practised, and that is not mentioned in Tsar Dushan's codex. The following is another national custom dating from a very early period: A thief was obliged to make amends for the object he had stolen by paying seven times its value in Montenegro, and double its value in Servia. A man who had been robbed declared his loss publicly, and appealed to all to discover the culprit. The person who caught and discovered him was termed Sok, and since he was often unwilling to accost the thief personally, he sent an intermediary, called a Sok-holder, to do so. If the Sok succeeded in proving the theft, he received a reward (Socina), but otherwise he was obliged to pay himself the value of the stolen object with costs.*

Pastimes during Work.

On certain saints' days, when the Servian peasant objects to work for himself, he often works voluntarily for a wealthy neighbour, receiving no pay, but food and drink. This is called Moba. The work usually performed at a Moba is reaping. Spinning is sometimes done, but seldom mowing or gathering hay, or digging maize, or picking plums; hence reaping songs are called Moba-songs. It is mostly young men, girls, and newly married women that attend a Moba. All dress in their best, as when they go to the monastery or church on Easter and Palm Sunday; they reap all day, singing and joking the while, and after supper the dancing begins, which lasts till a late hour. In some parts, as in Srem, when the field has been reaped, and the workers are walking back to supper, the girls make flags of their handkerchiefs, and the whole procession returns singing to the house. On arriving before it, they plant their flags in the ground. A Moba generally assembles on a non-fast day, and the host must treat them to the best he has,

* From Vuk Karadjitch.

as on a Slava; hence a poor man never invites a Moba. Mobas are very popular, guests coming even from neighbouring villages.

During the long winter nights the girls and young married women often assemble at some house to spin, either for their hostess or themselves. In the former case they are served with food and drink, otherwise not, but they may bring something with them. Such an assemblage is called Prelo, or spinning-bee, and it is sometimes attended by young men, who help to make the time pass gaily. In Slavonia they bring their banjos and play.

At fairs or on feast-days, when the village folk assemble outside the monasteries and churches, various games, like stone, dart-throwing, wrestling, leaping, etc., are indulged in. During the 'White Week' (Easter) hardly any work is done, and every evening there are meetings and dancing at the various houses. Sometimes the young people dress up in bearskins to amuse the company. In some parts of Vranya pumpkin masks, flaxen beards, and moustaches are put on, horns and a tail added, and the masqueraders go the rounds of the village with a crowd of joyous children and young folk at their heels. In the day-time the villagers assemble on the neighbouring hillocks, where the swings and winnowing-fans have been erected, and here the young people swing, dance, and amuse themselves, while the elder folk sit chatting, eating and drinking.

The best-known and most popular dance is the Kolo. Men and women take hands, forming a circle or semicircle, and dance to the music of the flute, bagpipe, or fiddle. Until lately it was only the gipsies who played the fiddle, but now the peasants have begun too. Although there are about 500 different Kolos in Servia, it is curious that only recently have the Servians in other lands begun to adopt them. A very ancient dance is the Horo, which is merely a symbolized war-dance. If there is no clear space near the house, the dance is held on the threshing-floor. The threshing-floors are permanent in Montenegro; the earth is levelled, and a stone wall built all around. It is always two—as a rule two of the same sex—that dance at the same time. When two men dance, they have more the appearance of preparing for battle than of amusing themselves: their faces become stern, their looks fierce; they flourish their naked yatagans and fire their pistols behind their backs as they rush towards one another. Dancing on their toes they spring high into the air, coming down so heavily that the ground shakes. Now and again they jump very high, stamp with their feet, throw up their arms, and shout. Some fire a shot from the small gun carried in the belt; they throw

fierce side-glances, as though they were about to fall upon each other, and clap their hands to their sides with loud shouts. In fact, they work themselves up to such a pitch of excitement that they lose their natural aspect.

The dance of the women is not so striking, and affords a pleasanter sight; there are no violent movements, and everything combines to make an agreeable impression. They spring lightly from the ground, with the arms close to the body, as though nailed. With figure erect as a doll, they trip about, throwing winsome, yet bashful, glances at their partners. When a couple have finished dancing, the two men or the two women embrace each other; or if they are man and woman—which is seldom the case—the woman kisses her partner's hand, and he kisses her on the forehead. As soon as one pair has finished dancing, another darts out with a shout and begins. It is interesting that the Horo is danced without any music. The spectators generally sing duets, gay ones as a rule. After this the Guslar chants heroic verses, accompanying himself on his instrument. Nowhere are heroic songs sung or known as in Montenegro. Shepherds still compose new ones, but the old are preferred, especially those which treat of Kossovo, where the Servians met a tragic defeat, but fought heroically, most of them perishing in an attempt to defend the Cross from the Crescent. Denton* says that in ancient times the Scots danced just like the Montenegrins. A pair dance together, every now and then squatting on one leg and violently thrusting out the other. They flourish their yatagans all the time above their heads, and at each other, as though going to hack each other's heads off, and a fierce look comes over their faces. Their dance is particularly effective at night by moon or fire light. According to a short account by Strabon, the ancient Iberians of Spain danced a war-dance springing and squatting on the ground, and this seems not unlike the Kuci. They also had a dance wherein the men and women took hands as in the Servian Kolo, and, contrary to the solemn war-dance, this was gay. In Xenophon's descriptions the warlike character of the Thracian dance is more striking than the Montenegrin. The Thracians stood up all armed, and danced to the sounds of music; they sprang lightly and high into the air, using their weapons the while. At last one dancer seemed to strike the other, who at once dropped to the ground, and the victor, rushing to him, seized his weapons, and retired singing. The other Thracians lifted the man who had feigned to be killed, but who naturally was unhurt. According to the same author, the Kysions danced two at a time, as though they were about to engage in combat. The ancient dance of the Thessalians was

* 'A Ride through Montenegro,' 1866.

also a mimic war-dance, in which was represented the struggles of a peaceful agricultural people against the inroads of brigands, and the hardships they suffered.

The Gusle has a resonance cavity, though deeper than that of the violin. It is closed above with a piece of skin, which is perforated in several parts. The hairs of a horse's tail are strung on the Gusle, forming a single cord. Horse-tail hairs are also used for the bow. Peasants and shepherds all play the Gusle, but they do not know as many airs to sing to its accompaniment as the real Guslars. The chanting of these national songs is essential, not on account of the melody, but for the subject, which is historical, and tells of the heroic Servian victories. Beggars were the best Guslars as a rule, for, travelling all over the country, they had opportunities of hearing and committing to memory many songs. By their songs, which told of the former liberty and heroism, the wealth and dignity of the Servian Empire, the Guslars fortified the oppressed rayahs, and infused them with new hope of success at arms. They often wove celestial visions into their songs, by which the Turkish Empire was to perish, and the Servian to be revived. Guslars were always welcomed as visitors, for at that time there were no newspapers, nor were letters written, and these indefatigable travellers could relate all events. They were likewise skilled in the imitation of the various sounds of birds and beasts on their instruments, which caused great delight to the young folk.

Besides the deeds of the Servian Tsars, and brave Voivodes, and other famous men, the Guslars also sang of the Haiduks, who escaped into the forests from Turkish injustice and oppression. There were Haiduks who, through hatred of the Turks, left their families and homes to seek and slay the Turk when and how they might. Haiduks were generally organized in bands under a leader, who was called Harambasha. In the beginning of the Turkish rule men of the best Servian families became Haiduks. They lay in ambush for such Turks as were carrying the taxes collected from the poor rayahs ; they fell upon merchants and travellers, and even attacked and plundered dwellings. When they found no money in the house, they fixed a price for the master, and carried off his son or brother as a hostage until his ransom was paid. They also seized garments and weapons, and songs say that they carried off good-looking females. A real Haiduk would never kill a Servian, or a man who had done nothing to him. In summer the Haiduks lived in the forests, coming to the Jatatsi (concealers) for their food, or the latter brought it for them. In winter they dispersed, and went to their friends for shelter, having previously arranged where they would meet in the spring. Some of them

lay concealed in the cellars in the day-time, and sang and made merry at night; others, disguised as ordinary servants, tended the flocks. When one of their band did not arrive at the date and place of reassembly, the others went in search of him; and if they discovered that his Jatak (concealer) had betrayed him, or killed him, they sought to avenge him, though fifty years might pass. At the time of the insurrection of 1804 the Haiduks dressed richly, and somewhat differently from the rest of the people. It is a matter of fact that the number of Haiduks diminished with the increase of humane treatment in the Turkish rule. If the Turks caught a Haiduk, as sometimes happened, they at once impaled him. If they killed him in pursuit, they cut off his head, and stuck it on a pole to frighten the people. When a Haiduk got tired of the life he was leading, he 'surrendered'—that is, he requested the Kmets of the neighbouring village to obtain an edict from the Pasha for him—and henceforward no one was allowed to allude to what he had done as a Haiduk. A captured Haiduk always behaved heroically. Before leading him to the stake on which he was to be impaled the Turks took him apart, and asked him to adopt their faith, but he always refused with disdain, abusing Mohammed, and adding: 'Would not I die, then, too?' On his way to torture he usually sang to show his disregard for life.

A particular class of Haiduks were the Tchetnitsi, who lived in independent Montenegro or Dalmatia, and in armed bands crossed over into Turkey, and attacked and pillaged villages, mostly to carry off cattle. Often they were successful, but sometimes they were repulsed with loss. When they saw that they were pursued, and it was impossible to drive the cattle into their own Nahiye, they shot or cut the animals into pieces with their knives. They always cut off the heads of their slain enemies, even at the peril of their lives, and carried them away as trophies to place on the roof of their Voivode or leader, or hang on the neighbouring trees. The Turks usually stuck the giaours' heads on poles around the fort ramparts. They seldom made prisoners, and if they did, allowed them to be ransomed. The Tchetnitsi fought mostly with the Arnauts, although they were such close neighbours that the songs of one could be heard in the dwellings of the other. They sought every opportunity to kill one another, and notwithstanding that heads fell like sheaves on both sides, they were always merry, thoughtless of the morrow. At that time the Turks only sowed those fields lying under the protection of the forts, while the Montenegrins opposite them sowed their fields at the distance of a gunshot, and always, of course, with their weapons ready to hand. A temporary peace would be made, when they could even visit each other, or meet at fairs, but a guarded attitude was still

maintained, for quarrels quickly broke out. Nevertheless, it never occurred to anyone to seek a safer place to live in !

The dauntless Tchetnitsi (Cetnici) were recruited chiefly from among the shepherds, for these were always clear-headed and prudent men. All their senses were alert, and nothing escaped their observation. They fed only on bread and cheese, and they were inured to hardships. Men did not join a Tcheta (band) because of their bad circumstances, but because they wished to prove their bravery, and avenge the misdeeds of the Turks. The greatest Tchetnitsi were the Uskoks of Moraca, who came from Herzegovina, and settled in these Montenegrin Mountains in 1795. The Turks had robbed them of everything, and here they found a suitable refuge from which to descend and avenge their wrongs. The Tchetas contained the best and choicest men. The Uskoks fought chiefly in the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries. The Venetian republic invited the Servian Uskoks to settle in Dalmatia, and Austria offered them her frontier lands, for they were admittedly courageous and skilled in battle. These Uskoks and other inhabitants of the borders often challenged the Turks to a Megdan, or combat, either on horseback or on foot. Their weapons were always chosen by agreement, but they nearly always fought with a simple sword, and wore nothing but a shirt. Each Megdandjija had a Dever (best man) with him. An ancient Venetian document of 1599 gives a detailed description of a combat of this kind. It relates that the Servian defeated the Turk, whereupon he cut off his head, and fixing it on a long pole, carried it away as a trophy. A crowd of spectators assisted at this Megdan, some 550 Turks, and Servians and Venetian dignitaries amounting to 800.* Formerly a Montenegrin was armed with a sword, sharpened at both edges, and another longer sword. If he were insulted, he at once challenged the offender, and a Megdan took place. A formal Megdan is, however, more complicated. The provoker sends an apple, through which he has drawn an apron fringe, to the person he wishes to fight, and names the date and place of the Megdan. The recipient of the apple at once eats it, as a sign that he has accepted the challenge. He then sends a similar apple with a fringe to the provoker, with the message : 'Expect me on the same day and the same spot.' Each Megdandjija choses a Dever, who is to carry his sword and a club. He also invites his Brastvo and tribe to witness the combat, and sometimes whole Nahijas are present. The Devers hand the swords to their respective Megdandjijas, but retain the clubs. With these they are entitled to separate the combatants when they find it is time to end the Megdan, or that it has gone as far as was agreed. If it

* Jovan Tomitch.

has been agreed that the Megdandjijas are to fight to the last, the Devers do not interfere till both have fallen; otherwise they interfere as soon as one of them has shed the blood of his adversary. After this the victor's family makes a great feast, while the wounded man's family returns home ignominiously. If one of the Megdandjijas does not arrive at the appointed time and place, the other smashes a spindle, and makes merry as if he had really won the Megdan. The above account of the Montenegrin Megdan was taken from Medakovitch's writing, where we also learn that until 1796 combats of this kind were common, especially among the independent tribes. They were also more frequent between the Servians themselves than between the Servians and Turks, or Arnauts.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FINANCIAL SITUATION

BY THE MINISTER OF FINANCE

THE financial condition of the State being the consequence of many factors which influenced the economical condition of the State, we have thought it well to deal separately with the development of the principal factors. These are the following: State revenues and expenditure, comparison of revenue and expenditure, public debts, the monetary system, financial legislation, and the administration of finance. After having dealt with the historical development up to the present condition, we have collected the necessary details on the movement of all these factors. While we have taken into account the radical change in the Servian changes which took place in 1880, we have only dealt with the modern period, in order not to write at too great length, and because it was very difficult to have exact information on the earlier period. This *exposé* is followed by a short criticism dealing with the defects of the State economy, and of the necessary reform, which, indeed, is the logical sequel. Finally, we give our opinion on the actual state of Servian finance. We will now proceed to deal with the various factors.

HISTORY OF THE FINANCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF SERVIA.

Elsewhere has been told how Servia succeeded in acquiring her autonomy after an insurrection and heroic struggle, and how she has transformed what was merely a Turkish Pashalik into an independent State. The necessity of organizing the financial situation came with the independence of the State. It was necessary, also, to determine the necessary expenditure, and to find the means to meet these expenditures. The Servians of this period, who were principally illiterate agriculturalists, had no knowledge of any other resources than those existing under the Turkish dominion. It is therefore quite natural that this Turkish system should be continued in the

independent Servian State. In this system there existed a poll-tax in cash, which was fairly high, and also the imperial Haratch (a personal tax paid by the Servians and the gipsies), and the Tchibouk (cattle tax), the dime in kind (imperial, and that of the spahis), the Corvées, the different taxes, the revenues from Customs, fisheries, and mines, and the personal tax in cash for the needs of the State. During the first insurrection (about 1813), instead of the above-mentioned taxes, there was only paid to the State Treasury a personal tax in cash and a tax in agricultural products and kind, which represented an annual revenue of 1,500,000 piastres.* The State expenses amounted to the same sum, and were composed as follows: The salaries of officials, the purchase of weapons, of powder, of lead, of stone, of saltpetre, and that amount—which was not met by the dime levied for the food of the army. There were no other expenses. After 1819 the State revenue of Servia was composed in the same manner as before the insurrection—that is to say, the personal tax on Servians and gipsies, the imperial and spahial dime on agricultural products, cattle tax, and the poll-tax, both imperial and spahial, and, finally, a national tax levied for State needs, which varied according to these needs, and a cash tax. Beyond this there were the dime in kind, the taxes, and the levies on fishing and mines. The system remained until 1835, and it was only then that, with the approval of the Sublime Porte, a radical reform was introduced. All the varieties of taxes in cash and in kind were combined in a single National tax (Narodni Danak) of thirty piastres per head. From the revenue of this tax there was settled once and for all a fixed tribute due to the Sublime Porte, and payable annually. The rights of the spahis were abolished. At the same time the people received a Constitution containing still another innovation: the Budgets had to be drawn up each year, instead of each half-year, as had been the case before this date.

State Revenue and Expenditure.

After having thus briefly dealt with the evolution of the Servian finances, we come to a more detailed survey of the State revenues, only dealing with the revenue after 1880, because the revenue of the period anterior to this could not be compared with the actual revenues, because of the disparity of their sources, and because of the inaccuracy of the information.

These figures show that, especially at the commencement of this period, the revenue was estimated considerably higher

* Twelve piastres made one ducat; thus one piastre was worth a franc.

than was actually realized. This fact deserves mention, and becomes characteristic for the estimation of budgetary revenues, if we take into consideration that the actual revenues did not reach the estimated sum in the Budget of the years from 1881 to 1896—that is to say, in the period during which these revenues were not exactly calculated—and that this difference amounts to 123,539,984 francs, or an average of 8,000,000 per year. From 1897 the actual revenues varied very little from the estimated amounts. It is evident that the State revenues show a great increase, which makes it necessary for us to explain how it is possible for them to grow in such an unexpected manner. In order to answer this question satisfactorily, it is necessary to proceed to a classification of the budgetary revenues with the following principal groups: direct taxation, indirect taxation, *les taxes*, monopolies, and State revenues. Basing our study upon this classification, and having followed the results of their collection year by year, we see that the receipts from the direct taxation did not vary until 1885, in which year it was estimated to amount to 20,000,000 francs under the new system of direct taxation—an amount which increased with the increase of the population, with the development of the economic force, and especially as a result of the introduction of additional taxation upon the direct taxes. In this way these receipts increased from 20,000,000 in 1885 to 30,000,000 in 1905. In 1907 they amounted to 25,310,000 francs.

Year.	Estimated Revenue.	Actual Revenue.
	Francs.	Francs.
1881	25,926,012·37	23,419,835·37
1886	46,000,000·00	28,775,256·81
1891	56,153,700·48	56,711,992·09
1896	63,659,720·00	59,116,858·59
1901	74,018,070·00	72,231,596·93
1904	89,236,721·60	87,902,436·54
1905	87,896,000·00	87,676,427·23
1906	89,207,072·00	91,270,374·00
1907	90,452,752·00	94,824,117·00
1908	95,239,037·00	—

A second factor which has largely helped to increase the State revenues is the indirect taxation (Customs, Trocharina), which appear in the Budget of 1881 for 3,600,000 francs; in 1886 for 6,700,000 francs; in 1894 for 10,000,000 francs; and in 1907 for 14,500,000 francs. (In the final accounts these figures appear: 4,074,557, 4,346,502, 8,713,414, 14,500,000 francs.) These increases resulted from the progressive development of

trade, by the reform of the Customs tariff in 1893 and 1906, and because of the introduction of the new taxes upon consumption (Trocharinas).

A third factor in the increase of the revenue was the stamp duty. This yielded in 1881 873,500 francs; in 1885, 1,747,322 francs; in 1900, 4,462,082 francs; and in 1907, 5,525,000 francs. The principal cause of this increase was the development of legal affairs, and the changes in the tariff for these duties introduced in 1896 and 1899 for fiscal reasons.

The most important factors which have contributed, and still contribute, to the increase of the State revenues are the State monopolies, agriculture, and industry. While the monopolies yielded in 1881 484,197 francs, and in 1885 1,520,450 francs, in 1890 the revenue from this source reached 7,150,041 francs, in 1891 11,670,426 francs, in 1897 16,307,059 francs, in 1900 20,329,220 francs, in 1905 25,198,792 francs, and in 1907 26,029,090 francs. This rapid increase in the monopoly revenues is accounted for by the fact that the State undertook the working of the monopolies of tobacco and salt in 1890, instead of leasing them out, and also because new monopolies were introduced and the monopoly duties increased, and, finally, because the consumption increased rapidly in consequence of the development of the economic force of the people.

The economic revenues of the State amounted in 1881 to 1,259,655 francs; in 1884 to 1,977,162 francs; in 1890 to 3,360,274 francs; in 1891 to 7,974,198 francs; in 1898 to 9,578,651 francs; in 1900 to 11,357,747 francs; in 1904 to 15,818,032 francs, and in 1907 to 19,000,000 francs. This rapid and constant increase of the revenue from agriculture, trade, and industry is due principally to the development of the movement of posts and telegraphs, and especially of railways. During the first ten years of this period the railway revenue does not appear in the State Budget, because at first there was no railway existing, and later the working of the railways was not in the hands of the State; but it became State property at the same time as the monopoly, and at the time of the great financial reform of 1890.

We have seen how the State revenues have increased year by year until they have arrived at a sum of 95,000,000 francs. It is easy to understand that this development of the State revenues was caused by the growth of State needs, by the expenditure which has had to be met.

The figures given on p. 203 show that until 1896 the expenditure was constantly lower than estimated. One might conclude that this was because that in the preliminary accounts the sums were estimated by error higher than the actual needs,

but this is not the case. The expenditures were really lower than the estimated amount in the Budget only because it was impossible to expend more than the amounts paid in from the collection of taxes and the amounts available in the State Treasury. This fact was established by investigation in the Ministry of Finance. From 1896 the relations between the estimated and the actual expenditures changed, and the estimated amounts were often exceeded, which must be attributed to the fact that the preliminary accounts of the Budget were drawn up with optimism, or without sufficient foresight as to the needs of the State.

Year.	Estimated Expenditure.	Actual Expenditure.
	Francs.	Francs.
1881	25,715,584·82	23,199,566·49
1886	45,968,639·44	39,225,046·80
1891	57,526,984·02	55,095,658·52
1896	63,355,606·95	64,947,113·24
1901	73,992,542·92	73,502,859·48
1904	89,143,835·93	85,153,797·82
1905	87,632,278·72	84,908,931·47
1906	89,165,095·00	87,335,640·00
1907	90,387,225·00	86,689,952·00
1908	95,091,251·00	—

In discussing the revenue, we dealt with the movement of the various classes, and it would be illogical not to deal in the same way with the details of the State expenditure, especially because it is the development of these various classes of expenditure which has caused the increase of the State revenue by means of the financial political measures introduced for the purpose. The State expenditures which have contributed to the increase of the Budget to 95,000,000 francs may be divided as follows: Expenditure in relation to the National Debt; expenditure for pensions; and the expenses of the different Ministries—viz., the Ministry of Justice, of Public Instruction and Religion, of the Interior, of Finance, of War, of Foreign Affairs, of Public Works, and of Trade, Agriculture, and Industry.

The total expenditures on the Public Debt were as follows: 1881, 1,830,500 francs; 1886, 11,316,759 francs; 1891, 19,665,470 francs; 1896, 19,114,814 francs; 1901, 20,752,347 francs; 1904, 23,706,782 francs; 1905, 23,668,661 francs; 1907, 23,741,948 francs. This rapid increase will be explained when we deal with the development of the public debt.

The expenditure on pensions, including that in connection with officials *en disponibilité* was in 1881, 463,435 francs; 1891, 1,913,443 francs; 1901, 2,982,487 francs; 1905, 4,514,037

francs; 1907, 4,481,197 francs. These figures need explanation as to how the expenditure could have increased in so short a time. We would give the following as the principal causes: (1) The increase of expenditure on pensions may be considered normal up till 1890, and a consequence of the wars of 1876, 1877, and 1885, when a great number of officers were dismissed and placed on the retired list before the appointed time. (2) In 1890 there were great changes in all branches of public life, and the promulgation of the new Constitution brought about the retirement of a great number of police and judicial officials who had not fulfilled the necessary new conditions. (3) In consequence of the altered political situation, when the Constitution was abrogated, a considerable number of officials were replaced by others, and placed on the retired list if they were entitled to it. (4) The events of 1890 were repeated in 1903, when the former Constitution was again enforced. (5) New laws dealing with the various departments were passed, and the salaries of officials were increased by these laws—or, at least, the pensions were calculated in a new way, little favourable to the State Treasury. (6) Finally, a further increase came from the fact that the pensions of school-teachers were included, whereas formerly they had been under the Ministry of Public Instruction.

The only Ministries which have shown large increases in the course of the last twenty-five years, and which therefore possess a special interest, are the Ministry of Education, of Finance, of War, and of Public Works. We will therefore deal with the expenditure in these departments as we have done with those relating to public debt and pensions. The expenditures of the Ministry of Public Instruction were as follows: In 1881, 2,261,097 francs; in 1886, 2,641,079 francs; in 1891, 3,494,332 francs; in 1896, 4,815,745 francs; in 1901, 3,278,347 francs; in 1904, 5,825,965 francs; and in 1905, 6,052,391 francs. Servian education began to develop more considerably in 1881, and the increase of its expenditure was quite natural, and therefore does not need any comment. We would only make one observation, and that is that this increase does not only result from the increase of the number of the personnel in the primary schools and colleges, but also because of the increase in the salaries of the staff, due to various laws. It is, however, well that we should explain the figures for 1901, which show much larger expenditure than those of the preceding and following years. The reason lies in the fact that the cost of primary instruction was met by the communes between 1899 and 1903, and that both before and after these years all the costs were included in the State Budget.

The Ministry of Finance shows the following expenditures:

In 1881, 961,806 francs; in 1885, 1,138,568 francs; in 1891, 4,714,671 francs; in 1896, 7,468,243 francs; in 1901, 10,449,312 francs; in 1904, 8,332,631 francs; in 1905, 8,584,853 francs; in 1907, 9,192,714 francs.

The great change which is seen in 1891 comes from the cost of the working of the tobacco and salt monopolies of the State, which causes their expenses to be included in the State Budget for the first time. The other increases in the expenditure of the Finance Department relate absolutely to the increases of the monopoly revenues.

The expenses of the Ministry of War were: In 1881, 8,726,145 francs; in 1886, 9,506,965 francs; in 1891, 9,724,271 francs; in 1896, 14,023,454 francs; in 1901, 17,515,852 francs; in 1905, 19,234,114 francs; in 1907, 20,498,885.

The increase in the expenditure of this Ministry corresponds to the increase of the active army and of the corps of officers. These were, in 1881, 785 officers and 8,718 soldiers, while in 1907 the standing army amounted to 1,800 officers and 22,000 men. In addition to this, the pay of officers and under-officers was much increased in 1905.

The expenditures of the Ministry of Public Works are as follows: In 1881, 1,625,285 francs; in 1888, 1,425,287 francs; in 1891, 3,814,508 francs; in 1896, 4,791,650 francs; in 1901, 7,774,410 francs; in 1904, 8,909,545; in 1905, 9,361,648 francs; in 1907, 1,123,227 francs.

The figures for 1891 and 1901 differ very much from those of the preceding years, and call for some explanation. In 1891 the expenditure increased because of the taking over of the railways by the State, while in 1901 the taking over of the posts and telegraphs from the Ministry of Commerce increased the expenditure by 2,000,000 francs. With the exception of these two points, the expenditure of this department has been proportionate with the development of railways and posts, which have themselves increased the revenues of the State.

Besides the expenditure estimated by the Budget, there were also additional expenditures, and we deal with them below, only saying here that it is just these expenditures which have caused the disorder in Servian finances, the chronic deficit and the need for frequent loans.

The revenue may be insufficient to meet the expenditure of the State either in the estimated amounts or in the final accounts. In the first case the deficit is a budgetary one, while in the other it is an actual shortage. The estimated deficit can be seen in the Budget, and is therefore public property, and evident. Such are the deficits in the Budget of 1890: Revenue, 43,590,552 francs; expenditure, 46,186,846

francs; in 1891, 56,153,700·48 to 57,526,984·02 francs; in 1893, 60,135,839.04 to 62,719,846·51 francs; in 1897, 61,646,869·63 to 64,020,606·95 francs; in 1902, 70,565,981 to 73,716,148·45 francs; and in 1903, 70,565,981 to 72,983,134·24 francs.

It is possible, however, that the deficit may be concealed in the Budget estimates, which happens when the amounts estimated for revenue have been arranged in order to arrive at a budgetary equilibrium. The same result is attained if in the Budget, while the revenues are accurately estimated, the expenditure is underestimated, or certain charges omitted which must be met during the financial year. It is such deficits which are the most harmful to the national credit, and we dare to say that it is because of them that Servia has been excluded from being able to rely upon the competition of various financial groups in foreign countries such as other States enjoy; and these deficits are the principal cause that Servia has only been able to emancipate herself with great difficulty from the financial groups with whom arrangements were made in the early years of her existence, and this although her financial policy was changed, and changed for the better. We will prove this by some figures which will show that the budgetary policy of Servia made use of such hidden deficits during a certain number of years:

Year.	Revenue Estimated in Budget.	Revenue Actually Collected.
	Francs.	Francs.
1881	25,926,012	23,419,835
1882	32,535,000	25,262,835
1883	34,480,000	27,266,962
1884	37,365,000	31,165,933
1885	46,000,000	29,324,949
1886	46,000,000	28,775,256
1887	44,460,000	31,060,495
1888	44,460,000	33,731,448
1889	51,869,999	33,684,331

That is to say, that in these nine years revenues of 333,196,012 francs were estimated, while only 263,692,051 francs were actually collected, which leaves a difference of 17,000,000 francs. Figures prove sufficiently that during this period the revenues were not estimated without method, which demonstrates that this irregular estimation was due to the tendency to save the budgetary equilibrium by means of fictitious valuation of the State revenue. From 1890 the estimation of the State revenues was carried on regularly—one might even say severely—since the definite accounts vary very little from the estimated amounts.

The other kind of hidden deficits in the preliminary estimates—that is to say, underestimating the expenses—is not to be found in the Servian Budget, and is not so important as the overestimation of revenue. The expenditure exceeded the estimated sums in the Budgets of 1896, 1897, 1898, and 1899, by 15,000,000 francs, whereas during the whole period from 1881 to 1905 the actual expenditure was 1,412,701,122 francs, being considerably lower than the estimated expenditure, which amounted to 1,451,577,645 francs.

We have mentioned the real deficit, which is the result of the completed Budget, in correlation with the deficit in the estimate. This deficit may also be evident (in so far as it is declared and is shown in the realization of the Budget) or hidden (in that expenditure outside the Budget may have been incurred for objects which ought to be included in the Budget). In order not to weary our readers with figures, we will not give the whole of the Servian Budgets from 1881 to 1905, and will only give figures dealing with exceptional years for deficits. The budgetary revenue for this period, according to the definite accounts, amounts to a total of 1,325,625,699 francs, and the expenditure, as we have shown above, 1,412,701,122 francs. Thus the real deficit amounted in twenty-five years to 87,075,622 francs. This deficit falls entirely upon the first fifteen years, since the Budgets of 1895 to 1905 show a revenue of 733,899,279 francs and an expenditure of 735,539,256 francs, which shows that the revenue was almost equal to the expenditure. The real deficits were most important in those years in which we have shown that there existed hidden deficits in the estimates. In 1886 the budgetary deficit was about 11,000,000 francs, and in 1889 17,000,000 francs. The real deficits which have occurred during the last ten years have been completely covered by the surpluses of other years.

As we have already remarked, hidden deficits may happen outside the Budget by non-budgetary expenditure being provided for by items which should be included in the Budget. If we glance at such non-budgetary financial operations during the last twenty-five years, we see that the total expenditure amounted to 201,343,189 francs, and the revenue to 326,271,873 francs. This shows a surplus of non-budgetary revenue of 124,928,623 francs, which deserves mention. We must first deduct from the total of these expenditures that part which belongs to expenditures which should be included in the Budget, and which really represents a hidden deficit. These expenditures, which we have noted minutely for each year, amount to 13,500,000 francs from 1881 to 1896, and to 10,500,000 francs from 1897 to 1905. This gives a total of

24,000,000 francs for twenty-five years, so that the total deficit is 171,000,000 francs. Having noted this fact, we must explain in what way the rest of this sum shown as an extra budgetary expenditure has been employed. We need also to show from which sources such a considerable sum has been drawn for the extra budgetary revenue, and, finally, how the difference between the revenue and the expenditure, which amounts to a sum of 125,000,000 francs, has been spent.

All expenses in connection with the different economic enterprises of the country have been met by these extra budgetary resources—thus, the repairs and new construction of railways (with the exception of those which were built by the mortgage loan for railways—that is to say, the following lines: Belgrade-Nish-Vranya, Kragujevats-Lapovo, and Smederevo–Plana); the development of the system; the increase of the rolling-stock; the construction of the tobacco factory; the working of the coal-mines; the total cost of armament and other military equipment; the supplementary expenses of the wars of 1876, 1877, and 1878, and the whole cost of the war of 1885. Besides these, the revenue from the same sources has had to meet the expenditure caused by the floating debt, which assumed large proportions because of the accumulated deficits, such as interest and incidental expenses. If all this is taken into consideration, it is easy to understand what has caused the large extra budgetary expenditure of 177,000,000 francs.

As to the question of the sources upon which one was able to draw for these extra budgetary revenues, we must state at once that only 27,000,000 francs were actually of such revenues, and that 298,000,000 francs were the result of loans. The revenue from the various sources could not be foreseen in the Budget, because it came into being during the course of the financial year, such as new monopolies, the tax on consumption, etc.

The difference of 125,000,000 francs between the revenues and the expenditure has been used as follows: (1) The payment of existing debts of the State Treasury before 1881; (2) meeting the debts made to pay the total amount of budgetary deficits of 87,000,000 francs; (3) the foundation of a State reserve, which should permit the Treasury to carry out the Budget regularly without delay, even when the revenue was not collected during the year as fast as the Treasury was obliged to proceed with the expenditure. This reserve amounted in 1905 to 16,278,296 francs in cash, and 12,373,921 francs in paper.

At the end of this *exposé* on the deficits in the Servian Budget, we consider it our duty to make a few remarks. First, that Servia since 1904 has had no temporary or running debt—

that no use is made of Treasury bills, although this right is given by the Financial Laws, which must be attributed to the reserve capital being sufficient, and to the fact that it will increase year by year automatically, as we shall see in dealing with the Financial Laws. And, second, that the Budget and final accounts of the years 1904, 1905, 1906, and 1907 prove that the revenue and the expenditure are strictly estimated; that the revenue is never below the estimated amount, but shows an increase; that the credits voted are not exceeded; that the extra budgetary expenditure occurs in an insignificant degree, which happens elsewhere, for the simple reason that it is impossible to enumerate all the possible needs; that there are neither evident nor hidden deficits; and that the actual Budgets, in short, are absolutely accurate, which proves that the Servian finances rest upon a solid foundation.

National Debts.

Countries are obliged to obtain funds by means of loans, either because of political embarrassment, such as an unsuccessful war, or for the carrying out of useful enterprises, such as the building of railways, the acquisition of armaments, etc., or because of floating debt, caused by the deficits of a series of years. It will be seen below that the debt of Servia has been created by all four of the above causes.

The first loan that Servia made abroad was the Russian loan of 1867, of a nominal and effective value of 2,350,000 francs at 6 per cent. interest. This loan was redeemed fifteen years ago. The results were used for military equipment. The second loan was also made in Russia in 1876. This loan amounted to 3,750,000 roubles, with an issue price of 79·80 per cent. at 6½ per cent. interest. This loan realized actually 6,810,000 francs, and this sum was expended in meeting the costs of the first war with Turkey, which was, indeed, the reason of this loan. As, however, the needs of the Three Years' War were greater than had been foreseen, and as this loan was not sufficient to meet the expenses, Servia was obliged to have recourse to a voluntary loan in the country itself, and also to issue requisition bonds for everything which was requisitioned, and in this way an internal debt made its appearance. There are few things which so effectively arrest economic development in a country which is not strong economically, and which is just beginning its development, as an internal State debt. It withdraws from circulation, in fact, nearly all the small capital which exists, and without which it is impossible even to imagine economic development. It is evident that recourse should not have been made to an internal loan for the needs of

the war, but that the Government should have found the necessary funds abroad. It must, however, be said that probably the Government found this impossible at the time. However this may be, it was only in 1881 that Servia made her third loan in foreign markets. This was the Lottery Loan taken up by the Union Générale, with an issue price of 74·50, and interest at 3 per cent. This loan had the nominal value of 33,000,000 francs, but realized effectively 24,585,000 francs. A third of this loan was destined for the construction of a railway, and the remainder for the redemption of the internal debt and of the requisition bonds. The general budgetary revenues served as a guarantee for this loan. The type of loan was 3 per cent. interest by coupon, and redemption by drawings within a period of fifty years.

According to the engagement entered into by Servia in the Treaty of Berlin to construct a railway-line which should connect the railways of Turkey to the railway systems of Western Europe, it was necessary to make a loan in order to fulfil this engagement, and to build the line Belgrade-Nish-Vrânya, which line was to connect with that of Salonica. This was effected in 1881 by the 5 per cent. mortgage Railway Loan, Lit. A. The nominal value was 90,000,000 francs, but as the loan was issued at 71·4 per cent. the effective value was only 64,260,000 francs, and this amount was completely exhausted in the building of the aforesaid railway-line. The net revenue of the working of the line, the Customs revenue, and the revenue from the civil tax, were given as guarantee for this loan. In order to join this line to the line of Constantinople, recourse was had the same year to another mortgage Railway Loan of 5 per cent., Lit. B. The nominal value was 30,000,000 francs, but the effective only amounted to 21,420,000 francs (the issue price was 71·4 per cent.), and this was used for construction of the specified line. This loan was guaranteed in the same way as the other loan, Lit. A.

In 1888 it was decided to build the Velika Plana-Smederevo and Lapovo-Kragujevats lines in order to connect the towns of Smederevo and Kragujevats to the principal railway-line, and a third mortgage loan of 5 per cent., Lit. C, was made for this purpose. It had a nominal value of 12,500,000 francs, with an issue price of 80 per cent., and an effective yield of 10,000,000 francs, which was expended upon the construction of the line; the guarantee was the same as for the loans Lit. A and Lit. B. The type of the mortgage loans is 5 per cent. interest by coupon, and redemption in fifty years by means of drawings every six months. All these mortgage loans were made with the Union Générale.

By the Treaty of Berlin Servia obtained also an increase of

territory. The new provinces had formerly belonged to the Ottoman Empire, and in accordance with the Turkish custom, vast regions were the property of the lords (Spahis), and the Servian inhabitants were only agriculturalists upon these lands. It was imperative to place these new Servian subjects on an equality with the others, in order to make them free and independent, and it was necessary to make a loan for this purpose with the Comptoir Nationale d'Escompte in Paris and the Banque des Pays Autrichiens in 1882. This was a 5 per cent. loan of 8,403,000 francs nominal value, and 5,999,742 francs effective value, with an issue price of 71·40 per cent. This loan was used in purchasing the land in the new territories. Since the State had only carried out this operation as the intermediary between the lords and the farmers, the sums for repurchase were allocated to the farmers, and the State looked to them, as from its agricultural debtors, for interest and redemption; in consequence of this, in the contract of loan it was provided that the agricultural debtors should be the guarantee for the loan. The type of this loan was 5 per cent. interest by coupon, redemption by drawings in twenty-five years.

Simultaneously with this loan another was made for armaments, and for the necessary expenditure caused by the creating of a salt monopoly. This loan is known as the Salt Monopoly Loan of 1882, and was made with the Anglo-Austrian Bank in Vienna. It had a nominal and effective value of 5,600,000 francs, issued at par, with 5 per cent. interest, and redemption by drawings in fifteen years. It was guaranteed upon the salt monopoly revenue, and was really employed for the purpose for which it was raised.

Since an important part of the cost of the wars of 1876, 1877, and 1878 had not been paid, and because temporary debts had been incurred with the financial groups which had business dealings with Servia, it was necessary to make a new loan in July, 1884, with the Comptoir d'Escompte in Paris, and the Banque Privilégiée des Pays Autrichiens in Vienna. This loan was intended for the payment of the war debt and the temporary debt, and for public works of utility, and was called the Loan of the Rente d'Or à Échéance of 1884. It was a loan at 5 per cent. of a nominal value of 40,270,000 francs, an issue price of 61 per cent., and an effective yield of 24,564,700 francs. This loan was spent in the payment of the war and temporary debts, but there remained nothing for the public works. This loan was guaranteed by the revenues from stamps and marks on liquids. Its type was 5 per cent. interest by coupon, and redemption by drawings in seventy years.

Towards the end of 1885 and at the commencement of 1886 Servia waged an unsuccessful war with Bulgaria, and this had

a double effect upon the finances : first, it was necessary to meet the needs of the war, and, secondly, to devote every attention to military equipments. A new loan was made in 1885 for this double object. It was the Tobacco Loan, with a nominal value of 40,000,000 francs, an issue price of 62½ per cent., and interest of 5 per cent., and an effective yield of 25,000,000 francs. The whole of this was used for war expenditure. It was guaranteed by the monopoly on tobacco, and was of the following type : 5 per cent. interest by coupon, redemption by drawings in forty-nine years ; it was made with the same two Paris and Vienna banks. A 5 per cent. loan with bonds of the Credit Foncier (Uprava Fondova) was made in 1886 in order to pay off the Treasury and other bonds, as well as the floating debt of the State Treasury. This loan was made with the Handels Gesellschaft in Berlin, and had a nominal value of 12,000,000 francs ; at an issue price of 76 per cent. the effective yield was 9,120,000 francs. The School and Sanitary Funds served as security, and the type of the loan was 5 per cent. interest by coupon, redemption by drawings in thirty-seven years.

The floating debt made necessary the conclusion of the new loan in 1888 (the loan of the Obrt). This had a nominal value of 30,000,000 francs at 5 per cent., and an effective yield of 24,000,000 francs at an issue price of 80 per cent. This loan was guaranteed by the tax on the Obrt (trade tax). The type of the loan was 5 per cent. interest by coupon, and redemption in fifty years' by drawings. It was made with the Comptoir d'Escompte, Paris, the Handels Gesellschaft of Berlin, and the Banque Privilégiée des Pays Autrichiens of Vienna.

Three loans were made in order to terminate the contract for the working of the salt and tobacco monopolies, and in order to be released from the arrangement with the company for the working of the railway, and by means of them the Servian State was able to undertake the working of these monopolies and of the railways. The first of these loans was made in 1888 with the Bankverein in Vienna. This was the Tobacco Loan of 1888, with a nominal value of 10,000,000 francs, and an issue price of 61 per cent., and an effective yield of 6,100,000 francs. It was secured upon the revenues of the tobacco monopoly. The type of the loan was lottery tickets that should be redeemed in sixty-five years by drawings or otherwise. The second loan was the 5 per cent. Railway Loan of 1890 for the repurchase and working of the railways, with a nominal value of 26,666,500 francs, an issue price of 75 per cent., and an effective yield of 19,999,875 francs. This was secured upon the gross revenue of the railways, the rolling-stock, and the surplus of the tax on the Orbt, and the stamp duty. The type of the loan was 5 per cent. interest by coupon, and redemption by drawing in sixty years.

The loan was made with the National Bank of Servia and the house of Hoskier in Paris.

Simultaneously, the Salt Loan of 1890 for the repurchase of the salt monopoly was made with the Anglo-Austrian Bank in Vienna. It had a nominal and effective value of 6,000,000 francs, with interest at 6 per cent., and was secured upon the revenues of the salt monopoly. The type of the loan was 6 per cent. interest by coupon, and redemption by drawings in ten years.

Immediately after the conclusion of these loans there came the necessity of proceeding to the rearmament and equipment of the army, but as the floating debt and the Treasury bonds had also accumulated, the Government was forced to make a new loan in 1893 with the Banque des Pays Autrichiens at Vienna, the Ottoman Bank of Paris, and the Handels Gesellschaft of Berlin. The nominal value of this loan was 44,000,000 francs, with an issue price of 76 per cent., and an effective yield of 34,440,000 francs. But as only 18,000,000 francs nominal were taken up, the yield was only 13,507,500 francs. The type was 5 per cent. interest by coupon, redemption by drawings in fifty years.

In 1895, the Servian Government decided to convert into 4 per cent. bonds the following loans : The 5 per cent. Railway Loans, Lit. A, B, and C, the Railway Loan of 1890, the Gold Loan of 1884, the Tobacco Loan of 1885, the Obrt Loan of 1888, the Agricultural Debt, and the Loan of 1893. It was also decided to take this opportunity to issue a larger loan in order to extinguish all floating debts. The Government entered into negotiations with the following financial group : The Ottoman Bank, the Banque des Pays Autrichiens, the International Bank of Paris, the Comptoir d'Escompte, the Société Financière d'Orient, the Société Générale pour Favorisier le Developpement du Commerce et de l'Industrie en France, and E. Hoskier and Co. This group accepted the conditions proposed by the Servian Government, and a consolidated conversion loan was contracted for, amounting to 355,292,000 francs. Of this amount, 310,543,775 francs represented the total of the loans converted, and 44,748,225 francs was a new loan destined to redeem the Russian Loan and the Salt Loan, while the surplus was to be devoted to the extinction of the floating debt. This surplus was increased by 26,000,000 francs, which remained from the issue of the loan of 1893. The issue price was at par for the whole amount of the converted debt—that is to say, the bonds of the old loans were exchanged into the bonds of the new. The issue price for the remainder was settled in the following manner: The total remainder was divided into several portions, and for each of these a special issue

price was fixed. Thus the issue price varied from 66 to 75 per cent. This loan was secured upon the receipts of the monopolies of tobacco, petroleum, and salt (after the redemption of the Salt Loan), the revenues from judicial and administrative taxes, and from the tax on alcohol, the revenues of the railways, the Customs, and the tax on the Obrt. In order that this security should be more complete, all these revenues were hypothecated, and the State has no longer free right of disposal, but is bound to pay the collected revenues to the monopoly administration which was specially created for this purpose, and which has the duty of receiving the revenues, of dividing them, and of forwarding the sums necessary for the payment of the annual annuity to the appointed places. The administration of monopolies is represented by an administrative council, which is composed of six members, of whom four are appointed by the King upon the proposal of the Minister of Finance, and the two others by the creditor group. The type of this loan is 4 per cent. interest by coupon, and redemption in seventy-two years by means of drawings every six months. This loan is governed by the Carlsbad Arrangement.

Thus, the Conversion Loan gave 44,000,000 francs more than necessary for the conversion, and there were another 26,000,000 francs to add to this, the nominal remainder of the 1893 loan, so that after the conversion there remained a considerable sum available for the Government to pay off the floating debt. However, the financial group did not immediately take up this remainder, but only issued it in lots of 5,000,000 to 6,000,000 francs effective yearly. It was therefore impossible to extinguish the floating debt, and the needs of the State called for great expenditure, especially as regards armaments and the development of industry and trade. It was therefore necessary to make three small new loans, and yet another large loan, in order to extinguish the old floating debts and those incurred after the Carlsbad Arrangement.

First there was made a loan in 1897 of the nominal value of 1,000,000 francs, and effective 900,000 francs, with an issue price of 90 and interest at 60; this 6 per cent. loan was for the construction of the local railway at Belgrade. It had the same type as all the other bonded loans, and the time of redemption was ten years. The annuity did not fall on the Budget, but was covered by the net profit of the State Class Lottery. Following this loan there was a forced loan in 1898 from the National Bank. This amounted effectively to 10,000,000 francs, with 2 per cent. interest, and to be redeemed within ten years. The type of the loan was a loan upon current account. This loan was redeemed about the end of 1906, which was before it was due. Then in 1899 a 5 per cent. loan was made, based upon

the receipts from the working of the railways. Its nominal amount was 30,000,000 francs; but only 11,500,000 francs nominal, or 10,005,000 francs effective, were issued at 87 per cent. It was of the usual type, with redemption in fifteen years.

Finally, a monopoly loan was arranged in July, 1902, in order to extinguish the floating debts. The following financial houses participated in this transaction: The Ottoman Bank, La Société Financière d'Orient, Handels Gesellschaft of Berlin, the Banque des Pays Autrichiens, E. Hoskier and Co., Labouchere, Oyens and Co., Amsterdam. Its nominal value was 60,000,000 francs, with interest at 5 per cent., at an issue price of 80 per cent.; the effective value was 48,000,000 francs. The yield of this loan was really employed in the extinction of floating debts, so that no more of them existed in 1903. The type of this loan was 5 per cent. by coupon, redemption by purchase in the open market.

We have almost now exhausted the list of State loans, but we cannot close without giving some figures which prove that the credit of Servia has reached a high level in the principal financial markets of Europe, thanks to a wise financial policy, and that it is able to maintain this. The official quotation of the largest Servian loan—that is to say, 4 per cent. Conversion Loan of 1895—was as follows in the Paris Bourse: In 1896, 68·65; in 1897, 67·90; in 1898, 60·40; in 1899, 63; in 1900, 64·20; in 1901, 67; in 1902, 72·82; in 1903, 76; in 1904, 74·55; in 1905, 79·40; in 1906, 82·80; in 1907, 85. This shows that the value of the same obligation has shown an increase of almost 40 per cent. in ten years, an almost phenomenal increase. This change in the quotation of Servian bonds is evident proof that the financial markets of Europe have been convinced that the Servian finances rest on a solid basis. These financial centres gave in 1907 yet another remarkable proof of this confidence, when they enabled Servia to conclude a new loan of an effective value of 95,000,000 francs, and interest of 4½ per cent., and on much more favourable conditions than the former loans. The result of this last loan was devoted to the constructon of new railways and for the rearmament of the Servian army with new field and mountain quick-firing guns. The total outstanding debt in 1907 was 541,376,000 francs (*vide* p. 222).

In concluding this chapter, we would wish to give an idea of the value of the State possessions, of its landed property and of the war materials.

1. The State railways of 600 kilometres give a net revenue of 4,500,000 francs, and may be valued at 140,000,000 francs.

2. The war material is valued at 60,000,000 francs; the mines, buildings, and other property, 30,000,000 francs; the State

forests of 55,000 hectares, at 300 francs per hectare, are worth 105,000,000 francs; and the active State capital amounts to 17,000,000 francs, which makes a total of active assets of 402,000,000 francs. We recognize that these figures are not absolutely exact, but it enables us to remark that these assets are only 46,000,000 lower than the total amount of the loans actually received (this sum amounts to 448,000,000 francs). This gives yet another proof that the creditors of Servia run no risks.

Financial Legislation and Administration

By M. WESELIN ATHANACKOVITCH
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It is necessary to give a brief sketch as to the actual state of Servian finances both in legislative and in administrative respects. We shall first discuss the special legislation and the administration which concern the regulation of the chief resources of the State Budget. Private sources of revenue must, of course, be kept distinct from State revenues, since they are neither the object of legislation, nor have they anything to do with the financial administration. The postal department, which is conducted in Servia on the same principles prevailing elsewhere, also needs no mention here. The principal points to be studied are the direct taxes, the indirect taxes and Customs dues, the rates, and the Government monopolies.

Servia differs from other States with respect to the legislation for taxation and the administration of the taxes. The law governing the direct taxes dates from the year 1885, and although it has been amended on several occasions, the general principle of the system remains. The Servian direct taxes may be divided as follows: The land tax, the building (house) tax, the capital interest tax, the revenue tax on all commercial and industrial undertakings, the personal income tax, the Obrt, and the head (poll) tax. The land tax, which is the most remunerative, bringing in annually, together with the additional Government centimes, the sum of 12,000,000 francs, is based upon the land registers. These land registers, of which every commune possesses one, were compiled in the year 1884, after a detailed survey of the whole country as divided into different properties. The registers have been brought up-to-date, and all the alterations which have taken place with regard to ownership, and to the quality and class of the estate, have been duly noted. The survey was, however, very incomplete, and it has been established that almost 2,500,000 acres were not included in it, since there is that difference in area between

the geographical calculations and the survey as it stands to-day. Besides this, the books of the land registers have become, in the course of many years, so worn, and they have been kept in such a peculiar manner, that they are almost useless There is, therefore, an imperative need either to proceed with a new survey of the country, or to work out a special cadastre on the modern plan. Such a cadastre would require a long time, possibly twelve to fifteen years, while an ordnance survey might be completed within two years. Both Government and public opinion are still uncertain as to which method to adopt, but a decision cannot be long delayed. It is interesting to note that these registers, although public, are not considered available as evidence in lawsuits affecting the title to properties. In order to calculate the land tax from the cadastre of an estate, it must first be determined what is the quality of the property. The Servian law distinguishes four classes of quality—two for land under cultivation, one for forest land, and one for fallow land—and fixes the taxes for the highest quality at 4 francs per hectare, and for the lowest 0·50 franc per hectare. But this division into four classes of quality is decidedly defective in so far as cultivated land is concerned. It is not sufficiently elastic, and at least four more classes should be added in order to avoid inequality and direct cases of injustice.

The house tax, which produces 600,000 francs per year, is levied on all buildings in towns and in hamlets, as well as upon such buildings as are let in villages. The assessment is made on the basis of the declaration sent in to the tax office by those liable, which has to be approved by the Assessment Commission of the commune. The tax is levied on the gross revenue, and calculated on the following scale: For inhabited rooms, 3 per cent. of the yearly amount; for shops, 4 per cent.; for inns and hotels, 8 per cent. Although the gross amount is used as the basis for this tax, it is easy to see that the available revenue might be doubled without reaching the scale which is applied in Central Europe.

The capital interest tax produces annually 250,000 francs. It is assessed on the basis of a declaration made without the intervention of the Assessment Commission. The rate is 6 per cent. of the yearly interest for amounts of less than 2,500 francs, and rises progressively up to 10 per cent.

The revenue tax, which is levied upon merchants and those conducting industrial enterprises, produces about 1,000,000 francs. It is assessed on the basis of a declaration subject to the approval of the Commission, and has to be paid on the estimated net profit. The rate varies from 2 to 7 per cent. Undertakings which are subject to public control are assessed

according to net profit, as shown in the balance-sheet, submitted to the annual general meeting of shareholders. The declarations of such merchants who fix their net profits from duly audited books are not subject to the Assessment Commission either. This class of tax is very much in need of reform, and the tax administration is at present engaged in the study of the question, and a proposal will shortly be submitted to the Skupchtina. It must be added that a minimum has been fixed in this tax, which amounts, according to the class of business, to 15, 16, or 25 francs.

The personal income tax brings in 950,000 francs; the rate varies from 0·7 to 8 per cent. of the yearly salary or income, and it is assessed on the basis of declaration made and approved by the Assessment Commission. This latter condition, of course, only affects those who do not receive any fixed salary. The scale is strongly progressive, and the maximum of 8 per cent. is attained with an income that exceeds 10,000 francs. This tax is levied almost exclusively on the official class. It is exorbitantly high, and justly considered very oppressive. A minimum income necessary for existence has been conceded, and ranges from 180 to 540 francs.

The additional trade tax, or Orbt, is peculiar to Servia. Its yield amounts to about 700,000 francs annually, and it is raised analogously to the patent tax of France and Italy, according to the rateable value of the business accommodation, or, if there are no business rooms, according to the total value of the turnover. In the first case the rate of taxation is 4 per cent. on the yearly interest, in the second 1 per cent. on the yearly interest. It is probable that this tax will shortly be abandoned.

The head or poll tax, with a yield of 3,200,000 francs, is, after the land tax, the most remunerative source of tax revenue. The assessment rests with the tax office. All Servians of the male sex who are of age are subject to this tax, with temporary exceptions—soldiers, etc.—and the minimum is 6 francs annually. To this tax is added 5 per cent. of the total direct taxes of each contributor. The poll-tax is an obsolete form of impost, but it is so remunerative that it cannot be predicted when it will be possible to abandon it.

In addition to the yield mentioned in the case of each tax, the Government demands an additional tax on the total taxation of 75 per cent. for general needs, and of 53½ per cent. extra for special needs and requirements, such as education, etc., in the form of extra centimes. The total amount of taxes paid in annually reaches 30,000,000 francs, which sum also includes some 4,000,000 francs of arrears.

The administration of the revenue regulations is entrusted

in the first instance to the tax offices, of which there is one in each district. The procedure of the tax offices is not collegiate, for the simple reason that, as a rule, there are only two tax officers in each office. The tax office has to control the assessments of the individual taxes due, and to draw up the requisite documents on the spot. In the villages the tax registers are compiled by the communal authorities, and are posted upon the notice-boards of the tax office. The money is collected fifteen days after the date when the taxes fall due. What the commune does in the villages the tax offices do in the towns and hamlets.

It has already been shown how the taxes are assessed, with the aid of the Assessment Commission, and how the taxes are regulated. Against these assessments the tax-payer may appeal, within the delay of a fortnight, reckoned from the expiration of the period fixed for the publication of the tax registers. The appeal is to be addressed to the tax office. From the decision of the tax office another appeal can be made, again within fourteen days, to the Minister of Finance, and the final appeal is from the Minister of Finance to the State Council, which is the third and last instance. The directors of the tax office give their decisions in council. The same appeal regulations apply to all complaints and litigation arising out of matters concerning pastures. The collection of the taxes is, as already mentioned, generally left to the communal authorities, which hand over the sums at intervals to the tax office; the latter forwards the money at intervals of ten days to the departmental treasury, which in its turn settles its accounts with the State Treasury every year. Special facilities as to payment of arrears may be granted for a period of four months, and the peasant population is by law entitled to a period of grace expiring at the beginning of August. After the expiration of these periods distraint is made, if necessary, subject to the restriction that, in the case of those of the labouring and peasant classes, the following objects are exempt from distraint: 5 hectares of land, one span (two head) of cattle, tools, etc. It will probably be necessary to entrust the collection of the taxes to the Government entirely. The communal authorities are too lax. It has already been shown that some 4,000,000 francs of arrears remain due each year which only partly flow in during the following year. It further appears regrettable that no kind of appeal is possible from the Assessment Commission; those complaints should be judged by a superior jury. It would also be recommendable to create an intermediate authority between the tax offices and the Ministry of Finance, and departmental tax directors might be appointed, who should give their decisions verbally.

In addition to the direct taxes, there are taxes on articles of consumption (Trocharina), especially on sugar, beverages (beer), and also on building materials. The annual revenue amounts to 5,500,000 francs, of which beer and sugar contribute 4,000,000 francs. The tax is collected by the tax offices, as far as inland produce is concerned. Imported articles are taxed by the Customs officer or the Customs Department. The Customs dues amount to about 12,000,000 francs annually. The rates are fixed by the general tariff, and by the special conventions concluded with different States. These Customs imposts are essentially pure financial duties; protective duties imposed in the interest of special home industries which are beginning to prosper are not important so far. Some articles, such as saccharin, dulcin, and similar products, are subject to prohibitive duties. The general Customs tariff includes about 700 items. There are thirty Custom-houses on the frontier, and one more is found in the country at Nish. The superior authorities are the Minister of Finance and, in the third instance, the State Council.

Stamp duties and other legal charges bring in some 4,000,000 francs, and are regulated by a tariff. There is no inheritance duty, properly speaking. A tax is imposed, which rises progressively in the inverse proportion of the relationship.

The State monopolies include tobacco, salt, petroleum, matches, cigarette-paper, alcohol to a modified extent, powder, dynamite, and printed pictures. The tobacco monopoly includes both the manufacture and the sale of the tobacco produced in the Government factories. A sum of 16,000,000 francs is yielded by this monopoly. Most of the tobacco is grown in Servia, although a small portion comes from Turkey. It is bought up by a special commission at fixed prices, and forwarded to the factory. The demand for cigars in Servia is so unimportant that the State does not manufacture them. Concessions for the gross sale of tobacco are granted by public auction to one licensee in each department for a period of two or three years. The retail sale is regulated by the autonomous monopoly administration referred to below. There are three or four retailers in each place, but more, naturally, in the towns. Between the licensees and the retailers there stands one sublicensee for each district. The administration keeps a tobacco depot in almost every place. The salt monopoly is exercised by the State in the following manner: The Government imports salt from abroad, and sells it at its depots to merchants at fixed prices. The annual profit on this sale of salt amounts to more than 5,000,000 francs. The same method is observed as regards petroleum, which monopoly yields 3,500,000 francs. The match monopoly

is now managed on the lines of the tobacco monopoly, the Government manufacturing and selling the matches. The annual yield is about 800,000 francs. With regard to cigarette-paper, the monopoly is confined to the sale of this article, which, however, brings in 1,200,000 francs. The other monopolies, especially that of alcohol, are too insignificant to deserve special discussion. The various monopolies yield altogether more than 27,000,000 francs annually.

The administration of the monopolies is autonomous, with, however, the restriction that all technical instructions, as well as all legal decisions, emanate from the Minister of Finance, who is also the disciplinary authority to the staff. The autonomous condition signifies that this monopoly administration is entrusted with the management of the Public Debt by virtue of the Conversion Loan Law of 1895, and that it has to observe strict adhesion to the loan conditions, even as against the State government. The Executive of the autonomous monopoly administration consists of a Commission composed of three Servian and two foreign representatives, the latter being appointed by the capitalist groups interested. The supreme financial authority is the Ministry of Finance, with its departments—the Tax Department, Customs Department, the Budget Department, the Financial Procurator, and the Department for Public Debts. The administration of the monopolies is in so far autonomous that it is not one of the departments of the Ministry.

The Ministry of Finance constitutes the second legal instance or court of appeal in all cases in which any of the financial departments are concerned, and it is, of course, also charged with the control and revision of these departments. In addition to these duties, the Ministry of Finance has to prepare the annual Budget, with which we shall briefly deal. The Minister of Finance has to draft his Budget, after having been informed of the demands of the other Ministers. He makes his estimate of the revenue, and, having received the consent of the King, submits his preliminary Budget to the Skupchtina by the 10th to the 24th of October each year. The Financial Commission of the Skupchtina discusses the draft, and reports to the full assembly. Having been read twice, and having been sanctioned by the King, the Budget Bill is finally proclaimed as law. This in its broad features is the procedure which prevails elsewhere, and for all Bills.

A few points of the Servian Budget regulations deserve, however, special mention. In the first place, arrears from previous years must not be included in the Budget draft. Thus the above-mentioned tax arrears of about 4,000,000 francs flow into the Treasury, although they might advantageously

be disposed of in the Budget. In the second place, the Skupchtina is not empowered to grant any credit which the Government has not demanded; the Servian Parliament, therefore, lacks the right of taking the initiative in State expenditure. Thirdly, the Budget year coincides with the calendar year, but the expenditure may be continued till the end of the financial year—that is to say, till the 1st of April. Fourthly, the balance-sheet for the past year, revised by the supreme Comptroller, has to be submitted to the Skupchtina simultaneously with the Budget for the new year. Fifthly, the Budget generally comprises more than four hundred sections, on which the Skupchtina has to vote. The first-mentioned point might be serviceable for periods of bad management. At present it constitutes an impediment which should be removed as soon as possible, which would, however, necessitate a modification of the Budget regulations. The second point—that the Budget and calendar years coincide—also calls for an alteration of the Budget Law. It is difficult to insure, under existing conditions, that the Budget draft is duly studied by the Commission, and still more difficult, and almost impossible, for the full assembly to discuss all the sections. As a result, provisional monthly Budgets have to be passed every year. These defects might be remedied either if the Budget year were to run from March to March or from April to April, or if the Skupchtina were to meet six weeks earlier than at present. The latter proposal would, however, be difficult to arrive at, since the Constitution is very definite on this point.

THE NATIONAL DEBT.

Number.	Denomination of Loan.	Nominal Amount.	Amount owing on 1st Jan., 1909.
		Francs.	Francs.
	Russian Debt of 1876 (at present paying 5 per cent. interest)		3,750,000
2	Two per Cent. Lottery Loan of 1881	33,000,000	24,730,000
3	Five per Cent. Loan of the Uprava Fondoya	12,000,000	7,293,000
4	Primary Loan of 1888	10,000,000	9,170,000
5	Four per Cent. Unified Loan of 1895	355,292,000	339,900,000
6	Railway Loan of 1899 (5 per cent.)	11,500,000	4,800,000
7	Loan for the Monopolies (5 per cent.) of 1902..	60,000,000	57,538,500
	Four and a Half per Cent. Loan of 1906	95,000,000	94,194,500
	Total indebtedness ..		541,376,000
	(Or, say, £21,655,000)		

CHAPTER XIV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CREDIT AND FINANCE

By M. BOSCHKOVITCH

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In the financial affairs of Servia there are three very distinct periods. The first extends from the earliest era to the time of the departure of the Turkish garrisons, the second period dates from this time to the foundation of the National Bank of Servia, and the third from this event down to the present day. During the first period the credit and financial affairs of the country were most insignificant. The national antagonism between the Servians and Turks, which often led to open war and bloody conflict, rendered quite impossible any restoration and maintenance of order and security, and thus it may be said that the most important conditions for the foundation and development of credit dealings were non-existent. The Servian merchants and other persons engaged in business met their lack of credit at that time by the help of their friends in a manner practised from ancient times, and by having recourse to native money-changers and dealers in agricultural products who busied themselves, beside their regular business, with credit affairs, and negotiated loans on mortgages or against written undertakings. In any case, however, the extent of this credit business could hardly have been great, but undoubtedly it adequately represented the conditions then existing. A certain proportion of such merchants as busied themselves with the export of fairly large quantities of products made use of foreign credit. There were banking institutions in Semlin, principally conducted by Spaniards and Greeks, and besides these there were branches of some Vienna and Buda-Pesth banks which had relations with recognized Servian merchants, and which carried on a credit business with them. Since Buda-Pesth was the chief market for Servian goods, there was occasion for exporters also to enter into credit relations with those commission agents to whom they sold their goods. It was within these limits that the credit dealings of the country existed until the final evacuation by the

Turk, and the resultant advent of peace and public security. These gave the first possibility of development to all branches of national progress, and therefore also to credit dealings.

Under the protection of the Servian Administration, which now controlled the entire country, there became possible a free development of national activity; the knowledge of security which everyone possessed brought about a complete change in work and way of living, and permitted business undertakings to be established on a much larger scale; while new enterprises could be safely begun once the country was freed from anxiety, and the fear of eventual surprises and hindrances. These in their foundation and development called for much greater amounts of capital. Generally speaking, an unusual activity in all branches of economic development made itself felt. Trade and business, agriculture and industry, could develop and make a great step forward, such as had been unknown and impossible before, for very easily understood reasons. The intense activity now shown produced changes in many properties, while the increased production in itself naturally called for more working capital, and this situation could only be adequately met by a well-regulated system of credit. In this way the favourable development of the national business activity brought about the necessity for more active credit dealings, even in the beginning of this second period. The former sources, as well as the methods of the credit system, were no longer able to meet the needs of the new era, so that it was necessary to take steps towards the opening of new sources, which should not only be richer, but more suitable for the newly created conditions. As a point of departure for successful progress in this direction, the principle of association—in other words, companies—was most suitable, forming as it did a safe and solid foundation upon which it should later be possible to build up the credit system of Servia simultaneously with the founding of the National Bank. Only a short time after the departure of the Turkish garrisons from the Turkish towns the establishment of credit institutions with share capital was commenced. These were modelled principally upon similar institutions in the neighbouring monarchy, there being no existing law relating to companies.

Before dealing further with the second period, it is necessary to remark that even during the time that the Turkish garrisons were in the country there had been founded a single credit institution, the Uprava Fondova (administration of funds), on the initiative of the Servian Government, which institution to-day, after thorough reorganization, remains the one national mortgage bank of the country. The Uprava Fondova was founded by a special law in August, 1862, for the purpose of

administering such public and State funds as were deposited in it, besides school funds and money deposited for judicial purposes, and to place this capital at interest against mortgage securities. This institution is only mentioned here in order to note the date of its foundation, and is treated more fully elsewhere.

The first financial institution which was founded by private enterprise was the First Servian Bank. A company with share capital was formed in 1869 with this title, which had as object the encouragement of trade and business in the country, and also the promotion of a beneficial development of trade relations between Servia and foreign countries. The Ministry of Finance approved the statutes of this bank in the same year, and thus it was enabled at once to begin operations. The capital was fixed at 1,000,000 ducats, but at the commencement only 400,000 ducats (nominal) were issued in 10,000 shares. Only 12 ducats were paid up per share, so that the bank disposed actually of only 120,000 ducats, or about 1,440,000 francs. Great hopes were placed on this first financial undertaking, and, as often happens in other countries when new and untried enterprises come into being, all kinds of expectations were entertained, many of which were impossible of realization in the existing conditions. The most varied affairs came within the scope of the bank's activity : exchange, credit business, trade and building undertakings—in a word, all possible forms of banking business, with all its special branches, from the savings bank to the department for speculation and financing new undertakings. The secret of future ruin lay in this multiplicity of business, together with insufficient ability on the part of the bank administration. All manner of business was accepted and carried on either for the bank's own account or for others, while it was ever ready to found new industrial or commercial undertakings, or participate in existing ones. The State granted many privileges to the bank, chief among them being one which forbade the founding by any foreign company of a financial institution in Servia during five years after the founding of the First Servian Bank. This bank might well have had a great influence upon Servian development had the sphere of operations not been too extended, and the management both incapable and without the necessary experience to conduct such varied affairs. Thus it was that the bank was led away from the obvious direction of successful business, and was left without any kind of care or supervision from those responsible for the management. Speculation and rash railway undertakings caused the bank to lose heavily, and brought it to liquidation after a but short period of activity. The failure of the bank involved in its ruin

all the members of the administration, who thus paid dearly for their shortcomings. It was inevitable that the losses caused by the fall of this Servian financial institution should have harmful results, and should much reduce any inclination to found similar undertakings by Servian shareholders. The fall of the bank not only had material consequences, although the sums lost were very considerable for that period, but also shattered the belief that similar concerns could ever be founded with any hope of successful operation. A certain time had to pass in order to allow the losses caused by the smash to be forgotten and confidence to be restored, and thus for some years no new attempt was made to found a company which should proceed more carefully to the establishment of a similar institution. Besides this, the wars of independence occurred, and naturally absorbed all the energy and every thought of the nation. The failure of the First Servian Bank, with its badly drawn up programme of work and its incompetent Board of Administration, was not, however, without value. It served to show, on the one hand, how financial institutions should not be conducted, and, on the other, valuable experience as to the sphere of action and interest which could not successfully be included in a banking programme because of local conditions. A lesson had been learned, although at a great cost, and this was of inestimable value for future developments, and it may be said that this lesson has made good the losses many times over.

In 1871, soon after the founding of the First Servian Bank, three other financial institutions were simultaneously established, also through the initiative of private shareholders. These were the Belgrade Kreditanstalt, the Smederevo Kredit Bank, and the Valjevo Savings Bank. All these concerns were equipped with moderate capital, and developed credit business with good success. A fourth credit bank was projected at Pojarevats, but did not come into being. The fall of the First Servian Bank caused these other financial concerns to determine to work more cautiously, and to limit their circle of activity to one more suited to local conditions and trade. A stricter and better supervision was introduced over the Boards of Administration, and both these measures enabled business to be carried on successfully and safely. The Government encouraged the establishment of these concerns, granting certain privileges. These privileges did not, however, produce the effect which had been hoped for, owing to the remembrance of the First Servian Bank, and to the War for Independence. There were no new financial institutions founded until 1880, when the Shabats Savings Bank was started.

The State did not confine itself to encouraging private enter-

prise, but also took the initiative in founding Departmental Savings Banks (Law of 1871). A considerable number of these were established in succession. Their principal object was to give the opportunity to place sums saved safely at interest as deposits, and also to offer to the calls for credit, owing to the progress of business, an opportunity of obtaining loans on favourable conditions. The peasants had the preference as to the obtaining of loans, and amongst these those stood first who needed the money because of bad harvests or floods, or for the purchase of farm buildings, cattle, tools, or seed. Loans were made to landowners and communes, districts and departments, as mortgages against their possessions, while for private persons who were not able to mortgage their land the citizens of the commune went bail. The State guaranteed the stability of these savings banks, and supported them, if need arose, from the money paid into the departmental treasury.

The task of satisfying the need for credit was thus divided; private financial institutions assisted trade and business by the granting of credit and loans; while the State Savings Banks supported especially the agricultural classes and agriculture. This division, which in some ways was inconvenient for those requiring credit, was really the result of financial legislation. The statutory conditions which deprived the peasant of the possibility of entering into financial contracts for raising money caused the peasants to be no longer included amongst those who, when short of money and in need of credit, could obtain this without difficulty or unnecessary expense. Thus, the peasant could not, and cannot even to-day, obtain loans on favourable conditions under the law, save against bills and mortgages. And mortgage loans, even, are only allowed to the peasant if it can be proved that on repayment of the loan on land, etc., there will still remain available a sufficient remainder which, according to the special Land Laws, may not be disposed of by the landowner under any condition, save that of complete ruin.

It must be mentioned, also, that there were a few other financial institutions founded before the establishment of the National Bank introduced a new era in the development of the Servian financial history. Such were in Belgrade the Belgrade Zadruga and Servian Credit Bank, and in Obrenovats the Obrenovats Savings Bank. At the close of 1884 the position of the various financial institutions was as follows: Private undertakings, total capital, 3,250,000 francs; deposits, 2,800,000 francs; drafts, 4,350,000 francs; and loans, 1,680,000 francs. The State Departmental Savings Banks possessed existing loans of 4,015,000 francs, while their total indebtedness was 4,408,000 francs. The position of the Uprava Fondova is dealt

with elsewhere. From these facts it will be seen that the credit business of Servia stood only at its beginning at the time of the establishment of the National Bank, and in comparison with the condition to-day, and was only carried on under the unfavourable conditions shown above. Besides the State Savings Banks and the Uprava Fondova there were only seven institutions, with about 3,000,000 francs capital. These, owing to their small means, could only satisfy the calls for credit in a small degree, and with much delay, as these needs developed in a surprisingly rapid manner after the war. Their activity was therefore small, and they could not aid greatly towards the development of credit business in the country. Besides the small capital available, the rate of interest was too high, being 12 per cent. and upwards on discount and lombard business.

It was only with the founding of the National Bank that Servian credit and finance business was able to take a large extension. This bank insured the possibility of a perfectly normal development of credit business by giving cheap capital, and by means of well-regulated credit conditions. It also paved the way for the starting of various credit institutions in the principal trade centres which supported the bank in its operations, and which now form the credit system of the country. The founding of such institutions proceeded rapidly, and four years after the opening of the National Bank there existed thirty, with a share capital of 6,000,000 francs. To-day, some twenty years later, there are more than 130 financial institutions, with share capital amounting to over 23,000,000 francs, excluding the capital of the National Bank. Naturally, the rate of interest has been much lowered, and to-day 6 per cent. is usual for discount and lombard loans made with the National Bank to private companies, whilst those financial concerns doing business and keeping a credit with the bank pay 1 per cent. less than the bank-rate—that is to say, 5 per cent. The average interest charged by other financial institutions is 8 per cent. The formation of these companies is governed by the Company Law of 1896. By this law the Administration Board is entrusted with the carrying on of the business affairs of the company, and is formed by eight to twelve members of the Advisory Council, which in its turn is elected by the general meeting. This meeting also elects the Council of Supervision, which is bound by law to supervise all branches of the business, and to watch that the conduct of affairs by the board is well within the limits laid down by the Statutes of the Company as approved by the Ministry of Commerce and Agriculture. This Council has also to audit the books and to verify the balance-sheet each year, as well as to

prepare the dividend proposals for the general meeting. It is held responsible by the law for all losses incurred through the illegal or irregular carrying out of its duties.

Some of these financial institutions also carry on other business, such as the advancing of loans on agricultural products, thus helping on the export trade; they also take over mortgages on land, etc., or grant second mortgages after those of the Uprava Fondova. There are, finally, some speculative bank concerns which finance or found industrial undertakings, and thus carry on a very valuable branch of business, and one which is very necessary to the country. Despite all criticism to the contrary, it must be admitted that the various financial institutions have fulfilled their functions in the national development.

Currency and Banking.

At the beginning of the 19th century the monetary condition of Servia was in an exceedingly unsatisfactory condition. The country did not possess any national coins of its own, and had to make use of all sorts of currencies. There were current Austrian florins of the Monetary Convention, as well as different Austrian coins, pieces of 20 and 10 kreutzers, Maria Theresa thalers (worth two florins), Russian roubles, ducats, Turkish medjidies in gold and silver. The young State had at once to devote attention to the task of keeping its subjects instructed as to the reciprocal exchange values of all these various coins in order to protect them against being taken advantage of. The conditions gradually improved as Austrian money began to dominate the Servian markets almost exclusively—thalers, florins, and pieces of 20 kreutzers. When fixing the exchange of the different coins, the Servian Government instituted an ideal unit or Simplum, an imaginary coin to which it gave the name of Grosche; this corresponded in value to the 10-kreutzer piece. This Grosche was manifestly too large a unit for the needs of the primitive markets; besides this, it had not the advantages of the Turkish piastre, with its subdivisions of 40 paras at 3 aspres, which was well suited for the small purchases of daily life, and which had always been the familiar coin in the country. In order not to forego these advantages, the commercial Grosche, or the Tsharshijski, was distinguished from the Government Poreski, or the tax Grosche. The exchange ratio between the two Grosches was 421 ordinary Grosches to 200 tax Grosches.

This was the state of affairs until the Government commenced to coin national money in conformity with the Laws of 1868 and 1869. By virtue of these laws 6,000,000 francs were coined in

silver, and 734,737 francs in copper, in accordance with the regulations of the Latin Monetary Union. The unit was one silver franc or dinar, and it was divided into 100 paras or centimes. After the enlargement of the country by the Berlin Congress this stock of coins was found insufficient, and by a Law of 1878 3,600,000 francs were coined in silver, and 1,200,000 francs in copper. New Laws in 1883 and 1884 empowered the Government to coin nickels to the total value of 3,200,000 francs, in order to replace the heavy copper coins in use, and the copper pieces were entirely withdrawn from circulation. Later, however, after the unsuccessful war with Bulgaria, when there occurred a great stringency in the Government Treasury, the copper coins were again issued, and the coins of smaller denominations became dangerously common. There were more than 5,000,000 francs of these smaller value coins in circulation. This unhealthy state of currency affairs had to be remedied, and the ratio between standard coins and tokens had once more to be regulated. A Law of 1890 provided for the coining of 6,000,000 francs in silver in order to accomplish this, but the mint did not actually start coining operations before 1897. At the same time the copper coins were finally withdrawn, so that the ratio of silver to tokens, which had been up till then 2 to 1, now became 5 to 1. In 1904 the silver coins of the year 1874, amounting to 6,000,000 francs, were withdrawn, and new silver francs were coined and put into circulation. The same year saw the issue of bronze coins worth 2 and 1 para, in imitation of the example of Germany and Austria, but these coins did not answer, and have practically all returned to the Treasury. The gold coins which had been minted in 1882 and 1883 to a moderate amount have become a mere numismatic curiosity, and in Servia people pay from 34 to 36 francs for a 20-franc Servian gold piece. The actual currency of Servia consists of 15,000,000 francs in silver coins, in pieces of 5, 2, 1, and 0·50 francs. The fineness of the silver is 835. There are, further, as mentioned above, nickel coins to the value of 3,600,000 francs in pieces of 20, 10, and 5 paras. That this currency does not suffice for the needs of trade is shown later when dealing with the Servian National Bank.

It is well here to say a few words on the exchange of gold and silver coins, and the premium on gold in Servia. In the days when there were no standard coins, but only exchange coins, in circulation, the Servian money market possessed a considerable stock of gold money in ducats and in 20-franc pieces. Their ratio fluctuated very considerably in the first ten years after the introduction of standard coinage, but it never deviated more from the normal value than 1 to 5 per cent.

That was the premium on gold up to the beginning of the eighties. Since that time the gold premium has continuously attained a most extraordinary height. This was evidently a result of the unsatisfactory international position of the country. Thus, the gold premium amounted in the years from 1884 to 1907 to the following percentages: 1884, 24·25; 1885, 24; 1886, 25; 1887, 26; 1888, 23; 1889, 18·9; 1890, 17·9; 1891, 4·8; 1892, 11·7; 1893, 12·7; 1894, 14·5; 1895, 14·5; 1896, 10·8; 1897, 6·5; 1898, 12·5; 1899, 10·2; 1900, 12; 1901, 14·5; 1902, 11·3; 1903, 4·6; 1904, 3·5; 1905, 2; 1906, 1·3; 1907, 1.

It is evident from these figures that the recent years have shown more stable conditions established in the Servian currency after twenty-five years of fluctuation. It is hardly possible to consider it merely a matter of chance that the gold premium always showed a strong tendency to decline when the Radical party was at the helm—that is to say, in the years 1889-1893, 1897, 1903-1907. These figures show this very strikingly, and the reader will be able to draw his own conclusions.

The Law of the 6th of January, 1883, established a National Bank of Servia for the promotion of trade, for the lowering of the bank-rate, and for the general regulation of the circulation of money. The National Bank enjoys the monopoly of issuing bank-notes, and the amount of notes in circulation were formerly merely limited by the condition that 40 per cent. of the total notes issued must be covered in cash. A further limitation which was passed last year was to the effect that the notes in circulation must not exceed five times the paid-up share capital. The bank was started with a capital of 5,000,000 francs, which was paid up in full by 1896. This capital has been since raised to 10,000,000 francs. The following figures will show how much this bank has contributed towards the development of the trade and industry of the country. The figures are in thousands of francs.

	1885.	1890.	1895.	1900.	1905.
Cash	1,000	9,600	10,400	15,000	19,100
Drafts	2,300	4,800	7,700	8,100	6,600
Lombards	300	5,300	2,700	2,300	1,900
Notes in circulation	1,500	19,800	25,000	34,700	36,700
Loans on current account	—	2,300	5,400	5,700	8,000

It will be noticed that the ratio between cash and notes in circulation has become more and more favourable, and the figures for 1906 show that this tendency is maintained. One

fact must be mentioned as a testimony to the stability of the bank and its policy, and that is that the bank rate of interest has been kept at the same figure since the beginning—that is to say, 6 per cent. Other banks and banking institutions in various countries have had to go up to much higher rates at various times, even up to 12 per cent.

While the National Bank aims at encouraging trade and industry by creating cheap credit, it is the object of the Government Mortgage Bank, the Uprava Fondova, established in 1862, to improve the land under cultivation and capable of being tilled, and to promote the construction of good buildings by providing credit against security of immovables and real estate. The Mortgage Bank is a Government institution, in which the share capital is represented by the funds entrusted to it. These are the funds for building schools, sylviculture, and pensions for the widows of State officials, which together amount to 16,000,000 francs. From these funds, as also from the cash deposits which it receives as a savings bank, the bank has lent on security 34,000,000 francs. This sum and the turnover of the Mortgage Bank will doubtless continue to increase, more especially when it will have completed the arrangements for the issue of new forms of mortgages and credit letters.

Another bank which is under State control and possesses many State privileges, although it is not a State institution, is the Export Bank. This bank was founded in 1901 for the promotion and encouragement of foreign trade. The nominal share capital was fixed at 5,000,000 francs in 50,000 shares. Of this, however, only 32,084 shares were issued (September, 1905), realizing 2,903,800 francs. This bank advances money on all kinds of national produce destined for export, such as cattle, grain, dried prunes, etc., buys and sells various goods, but only for foreign account, and deals with forwarding, insurance, etc., in connection with its own goods or others dealt with on commission. The bank busies itself with discounting and other business appertaining to export trade. Besides the central office in Belgrade, this bank has branches and agencies both in the principal towns of the country and abroad, in Buda-Pesth, Steinbruch, Ferenczvaros, Vienna, and Berlin. The total yearly volume of business amounted in 1905 to nearly 18,000,000 francs. This bank has proved of inestimable value in the development of the foreign trade of Servia.

The total number of banking institutions in the country was 113 at the end of 1905, including the savings banks, but not including the Mortgage Bank. These institutions possess a paid-up capital of 27,837,081 francs, and the deposits in the savings banks amount to 30,954,075 francs. The rate of

interest for deposits varied from 5·06 to 5·89 per cent., and the reserve funds amounted to 4,264,764 francs. All these institutions together had granted loans against drafts to the amount of 36,240,905 francs, against security (lombards) 28,703,730 francs, on mortgages 1,610,098 francs, and the average rate of interest for loans was 9·58 to 10·8 per cent. The net profit of these banking institutions amounted in 1905 to 3,471,251 francs. Since that year a considerable number of new banking houses have been established. Since all these concerns prosper, it is possible to consider the economic situation of Servia as favourable.

In conclusion, it may be said that the currency of Servia is now in a sound condition, and that the national economy is continuously improving, and has not been disturbed by any of the crises of recent times.

CHAPTER XV

ECONOMIC SURVEY

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SERVIA is still a young country from the economic point of view, whose productive activity has scarcely commenced its development. The delay which has occurred in economic development, compared with that of other civilized countries, is due to the special circumstances in which Servia has been placed. In the first place, Servia is also a young political country; not quite a century has elapsed since she escaped from the domination of the Turks and became an autonomous State. Our efforts during the last century were principally concentrated upon the political organization and upon the consolidation of our internal condition, and scarcely any attention was paid to increasing the material force of the country. Even to-day, unfortunately, political questions absorb the attention of our statesmen and politicians more than economic and social questions. There have been also other difficulties which have formed obstacles in the path of our economic development. At the beginning of the formation of the State a century ago Servia could not have, and has not to-day in sufficient measure, all the necessary elements for general economic development on the model of Western countries.

By its social organization Servia is a democratic country more than any other. While this social state has, on the one hand, done little to help on the creation of the necessary conditions for the development of national production on a large scale, it has, on the other hand, had a favourable effect in preventing economic extremes, and has contributed in consequence to the maintenance of the general well-being of the nation. Class distinctions regulated by birth are unknown amongst us; neither are there great differences in wealth between the different social classes. Thus there does not exist in our country social antagonism in its acute form,

such as we see in Western countries existing between the aristocracy and the democracy, large landed proprietors and peasants, capitalists and workmen, agriculturalists and industrialists, etc. Latterly, however, with the increasing development of the country and the growth of its wealth, economic differences begin to show themselves, and a new economic atmosphere is forming, in which social problems, both complicated and difficult, naturally become questions of the day. But for many years yet this will not call into being a struggle of interests in a pronounced degree between the different classes of society. It is probable that we shall not be able to avoid this struggle any more than we can hope to avoid the economic processes which have occurred in the countries of Western Europe, and for the simple reason that our social life is developing in the same direction.

Servia is essentially an agricultural State, where large industries do not exist, or are still in their commencement. We import from abroad the greater portion of the industrial goods of which we have need, and we meet the resultant outlay by the products of agriculture, which is to-day practically the only source of the national wealth. Agriculture enjoys in Servia conditions which are very favourable to its development. The Servians are active and hard-working; the soil is suitable to the growing of cereals and various agricultural plants; it is intersected by rivers and streams, which form a fairly well-developed system, and which fertilize the soil in watering it. A considerable number of these rivers, which force their way through the gorges and defiles of the mountains, have high waterfalls, and the force of their current could be profitably used in industries. The climate might well be warmer than it is, because Servia is situated in the same latitude as Italy. But we do not possess the maritime climate, with its warmth. This results from the fact that our country is unprotected to the north from the cold winds which blow from the Hungarian plains, and that to the south high chains of mountains prevent the passage of the warm winds. This is also due, in part, to the fact that Servia is a great distance from the sea. The average temperature for the year is 11·4° C., which, however, does not prevent the winters from being very cold and the summers excessively hot.

Generally speaking, Servia is, from the physical point of view, not only a remarkable country for its natural beauty, but possesses very favourable conditions for a great development of the vegetable and animal production. The vegetation is very luxuriant. The country produces successfully all kinds of grain, different commercial plants, cattle, etc. The cultivation of fruit-trees, sylviculture, and other branches of

agriculture, is particularly important. Servia also possesses in abundance mineral riches—coal, iron ore, copper, silver, and gold, etc.—but the mineral wealth is not yet sufficiently worked. We do not exaggerate when we say that there is scarcely another country of so small an area (48,300 square kilometres with more than 2,750,000 inhabitants) which possesses such a great variety of natural sources of wealth as does Servia.

Since 84 per cent. of our population is occupied in agriculture, it is important to know how the ownership of the land stands. This will allow us to see at the same time what is the general social and economic situation in our country. The system which exists in Servia is that of small holdings, and consequently also small agricultural holdings, because we consider these two things as synonymous. Every individual, however insignificant, possesses a piece of ground, however small it may be, which he cultivates himself. Everyone has the material existence more or less assured. The nature of the soil favours the working of agriculture on a small scale, and also small holdings as a system. Mountainous undulating districts, varied agriculture, such as form the greater portion of Servia, are not suitable for the formation of large rural domains. In the plains and near the rivers there are, it is true, fairly large estates belonging to a single tenant, but there do not exist such large estates as in Western countries. Besides this, the democratic constitution of our society is of great assistance in supporting the system of small holdings. Each proprietor lives on his piece of ground and cultivates it, aided by the members of his family. It is very exceptional to find cases in which it is cultivated by any third person. This democratic division of property it is which gives such a special character to our social organization. Such an arrangement of the landed property is the foundation of the well-being of the mass of our people, and of the maintenance of the healthy economic relations in our society.

This division of property owes its origin to a number of special circumstances. In the Servian State of the Middle Ages the feudal régime flourished, as in all European countries of that period. When the Turks had become absolute masters of Servia, in the second half of the 15th century, they brought about no real change in the existing conditions of fortune. There was only a change in form, the Servian nobility being replaced by the Turkish nobility. The Turkish feudal lords seized the conquered land, upon which the mass of the Servian people (the rayahs) was obliged to work for them. This state of things continued for almost four centuries, until 1833. After having shaken the yoke of the Turks in the first decades

of the last century, our first preoccupation was to end the Turkish feudal régime, and to liberate our people in economic affairs. The efforts in this direction were soon crowned with success. The authority of the lords (spahis) ended in a very short space of time, and the situation then existing with regard to property changed at once. The individuals who were established on the property of the lords then became the proprietors. In this way in 1833 the feudal system was abolished in Servia in a way both easy and prompt, and was replaced by a new system relating to landed property, founded upon systems of modern law relative to estates. Thus one of the most difficult of economic problems was happily settled, to the profit of the mass of the people, at the very beginning of the new State. This solution laid a solid foundation for the development of Servian society. The new Servian law-makers who settled this question—as, for example, our well-known historian, St. Novakovitch—were well aware that in abolishing the Turkish feudal régime they were altering a system which dated back to the Servian nobility of the Middle Ages. The fact that the Servian people saw in the Turkish lords conquerors who had usurped the place of their medieval aristocracy greatly facilitated the solution of so great a question.

But we did not stop there. Our State took later all the necessary precautions to insure that the individuals kept their lands, and in order to assure to them complete economic independence. This object was realized by the introduction of the homestead. By the Law of 1873 it was laid down that a minimum of 3·41 hectares of land, with the house, tools, and utensils, as well as the necessary cattle for the working of the farm, could not be sold for private debts. It is also forbidden to the agriculturalist to run into debt by promissory notes. These two measures have indisputably helped the maintenance of small holdings, and have prevented the formation of an agricultural proletariat. In recent years, however, it has been seen that these laws do not sufficiently protect the agriculturalist, because of the fact that all their movable and immovable goods could be sold for obligations incurred towards the State, especially for the payment of taxes. In order to safeguard the peasants, even in this respect, to a certain degree, a law has fixed at 0·25 hectare the minimum of land which may not be sold even on behalf of the State. Despite all this, we have not been able to maintain a form of proprietorship which corresponds best to an equitable division of goods, and at the same time fulfils the necessary conditions for the working of the soil. In consequence even of the law of development, and because of the increasing growth of the population, several noteworthy changes have been effected recently in

the evolution of landed property, and this has taken the direction of a still greater division of this property, and even of its too excessive subdivision, in extreme opposition to the system of large estates.

The principal cause of this phenomenon is the dissolution of the family communities (Zadrugas), which have in the past played such an important rôle in the social and economic existence of our people. These natural social communities, based upon relationship and common property, and which represent the life and the work of a fairly large number of persons, are in course of rapid disorganization. They were able to continue to exist as long as the economic life of the country remained but little developed, and while the production was essentially for the needs of the house; but with the development of society, and the change of primitive agriculture into agriculture demanding capital, personal interests began to affect the ties of relationship in the life of the Zadrugas, which naturally produced the same effect with us as anywhere else—that is to say, brought about the dissolution of the ancient social forms. Filled by the personal interest, each member of the Zadruga wishes to have a property of his own; he wishes to do better work and to produce more, not only for the needs of his house, but also for the market. This brings about, naturally, very frequent divisions of the property of the Zadrugas, and the passing of life in common. A rapid disorganization of our family Zadrugas follows, which is increased by our legislation, which is copied, for the most part, from that of foreign countries, and which does not correspond to the habits of the country. This hastened, at least, the process of dissolution of property in common, and brought about the increasing individualization of this property.

Family Zadrugas still exist amongst us in those places which are far removed from the great routes of communication, and which do not feel the influence of town life. But their number diminishes from day to day, because there is no means of arresting their disappearance. Besides this, no real measure has been taken to moderate the progress of this disorganization, or to insure that the change into absolutely individual property should come about quietly, and should produce the least harmful effects. The Zadrugas thus seem, by the very law of progress, condemned to disappear, because they cannot adapt themselves to the conditions of contemporary life.

The following table shows the division of landed property in Servia. The total area of Servia is 4,830,000 hectares. Of this figure, 2,526,684 hectares, or 56·36 per cent., represent the property of private individuals and communes. The remainder

—that is, 2,303,576 hectares, or 43·64 per cent.—belongs to the State or to the nation at large—forests, roads, rivers, etc. According to the census of 1897, there were 293,428 country proprietors in Servia, who were divided as follows :

	Proprietors.	Per Cent.
Possessing less than 3 hectares ..	98,253	33·490
" from 3 to 5 " ..	62,622	21·160
" " 5 " 10 " ..	80,822	27·550
" " 10 " 20 " ..	40,782	13·920
" " 20 " 60 " ..	10,962	3·200
" " 60 " 100 " ..	397	0·130
" " 100 " 300 " ..	83	0·014
" more than 300 " ..	3	0·001

As one sees, the small holding, and consequently working on a small agricultural scale, predominate in Servia. This state of landed property, which manifests also a tendency to still further subdivision, has naturally many inconveniences for agriculture, especially because the soil is cultivated in an extensive manner. This inconvenience is all the more noticeable because we do not possess any large agricultural estates belonging to private individuals which might be used for the application of scientific results and for experiments, and which would perform the rôle of practical schools for the diffusion of agricultural knowledge in their neighbourhood.

In the same way that there are no great agricultural workings, Servia has no large industries. The creation of such industries meets many difficulties in a young country, and one of limited area such as ours. Raw material and other accessory material are not lacking, but what we need is labour, principally workmen possessing technical knowledge, and we need also capital. The Servian people prefer agriculture. Those who are accustomed to work in the open air decide only with difficulty to work in those places which are generally unhealthy. Our towns contain too small a proportion of the population to be able to supply a sufficiency of labour to industries on a large scale. Their population is small, because the mass of the inhabitants does not abandon the villages in order to come and look for work in the town. As a consequence, we are glad to introduce workmen from abroad for the few large enterprises existing in the country, and this not only for the work needing technical education, but also for simple and unskilled work. The native workmen have only within the last few years begun to be employed in the mines and in the factories. There can be no doubt that it is neces-

sary to have available abundant labour in order to be able to create large industries, and we must confess that we have not such labour in sufficient quantities, because our country is relatively thinly populated. But what is still more necessary for us for industrial enterprises is capital, and it is necessary to make every effort in order to encourage this to be brought into the country. We should, nevertheless, work energetically even at the cost of the greatest sacrifices to support and develop those industries which offer the greatest chances of success in our country.

Agriculture to-day is our most important branch of national production. We give it our greatest care in order that we may draw from it the greatest benefit, and in order that we may be able, after meeting our own needs, to export abroad as large a quantity as possible of raw material. In order to increase the value of the agricultural production, we must have, among other things, better developed means of communication. We have not yet even 600 kilometres of railway! A railway system which would put all the producing districts in direct communication with the mainland running through Servia from north to south would inevitably bring about a considerable increase in the agricultural production, and we should be able to more than double our exports in a very short time.

But we will soon have to contend with great difficulties in this question of exports. Our export trade seems bound to undergo important changes, because of the high customs duty upon agricultural products in the countries of Central Europe, where our cereals and our cattle used to find the most favourable markets. To-day all our export is directed to Austria-Hungary, and through this country to the other Western countries. Our fatal geographical position places us in an absolute economic dependence on our powerful neighbours, as is shown by the figures of our foreign trade. According to our statistics of the customs, we exported in 1907 raw materials to the value of 71,996,274 francs. Of this figure, the exports to Austria-Hungary amounted to 64,712,406 francs, or 90 per cent. of our total export. It must not be forgotten, however, in looking at these figures, that much of our products exported into Austria-Hungary are not consumed there, but only traverse the territory of this State on their way to markets of other countries, often labelled as products of Austro-Hungarian origin. This is especially the case with dried prunes, marmalade of prunes, and other fruits which are principally consumed in Germany. Austria-Hungary acts the part of middleman between us and other places for a great number of our products, and the Austrian merchants reap the greatest benefit. Thus,

the figures given above should be reduced by at least 15,000,000 francs, according to the statistics of the Austro-Hungarian customs. It is certain that we export the greatest proportion of our products, but it is also this country which furnishes us with the majority of our imports. We are excellent customers of Austro-Hungarian manufactures, although it appears that in Vienna this is not given the weight it deserves. In 1907 we imported 55,600,604 francs' worth of manufactured articles, of which 33,375,500 francs, or 60 per cent., came from Austria-Hungary, almost all the remainder from other Western countries passing through Austria-Hungary, and a small portion from neighbouring States.

The preceding remarks show sufficiently how unfavourable is Servia's position from the economic point of view—the only country in Europe, save Switzerland, which has no direct access to the sea. We are in an additionally difficult position because Austria-Hungary, or rather Austria, cherishes ideas of expansion, which are openly confessed in the device, 'Drang nach osten,' and which affect the Balkan countries, and principally Servia, which is situated in its immediate proximity, or, to employ diplomatic language, in its sphere of interest, and because Austria-Hungary seeks to secure the markets for her own industries at any price. At all times, even during the time when a treaty of commerce is in force, Austria-Hungary can close her frontier under many pretexts, not only to our exports to her markets, but also to the transit of our goods, principally cattle and products of cattle, despatched to other Western countries. This happened recently, and brought about a sharp conflict between Servia and the neighbouring monarchy, which almost became a real question of war. It was occasioned by the Treaty of Customs Union arranged between Servia and Bulgaria.

It is only necessary to mention that this purely economic idea which two Balkan States attempted to realize called forth such irritation in Austria-Hungary that she immediately closed her frontier to our exports, despite the effect that the Treaty of Commerce was still in existence. But this attitude of the Austro-Hungarian diplomacy with regard to the Balkan countries seems to hasten the realization of economic union instead of to prevent it, and this first between Servia and Bulgaria, and later between these two States and Roumania. These three neighbouring States, forced by circumstances to assist each other, would form by the realization of such a union an economic area sufficiently large to make possible an independent economic development, and capable of successfully resisting all invasion from abroad. This would be, in truth, a first condition for the realization of that political alliance

of these States of which there has already been so much talk.

It must be confessed that the German and Austro-Hungarian markets offer favourable conditions for the sale of our products. They have the advantage of being the nearest, and we find there certain customers. Bearing this in mind, we make every effort in order to come to an arrangement of our financial relations with the neighbouring monarchy. But these markets are closed to a great number of our products, because of the high customs duties which are laid upon agricultural goods in the new custom service of Germany, and also of Austria, where the example of Germany was speedily followed. It is impossible for many of our products to bear such high import duties. Thus maize, which used to pay, according to the conventional customs tariff of Austria-Hungary, 0·50 crowns, will in future have to pay 2·80 crowns; wheat will now pay 6·30 instead of 1·50 crowns; barley 2·80 instead of 0·50 per metric quintal. The tax upon cattle, which was 8 crowns in the conventional tariff, has been raised now to 60 crowns per head. Pigs used to pay 3 crowns per animal above 120 kilogrammes in weight, whereas they will now pay, according to the general tariff, 12 crowns per animal weighing less than 120 kilogrammes, and 20 crowns above this weight. The flesh of pigs used to pay a customs duty of 12 crowns per 100 kilos, but now 30 crowns, and even 45 crowns for salted meat, etc. It is probable that the customs taxes upon cattle and meat will be reduced slightly if we should succeed in concluding a treaty of commerce. But, however the financial relations may be settled, the duties upon cereals will remain as they are, because these are the lowest tariff below which no concessions may be granted. To take things at their best, there will result a reduction by one-third of our exports to Austria-Hungary.

However successful we may be in concluding a commercial treaty with Austria-Hungary, we must, nevertheless, make the greatest efforts to find new *débouchés* for our export trade, in order to emancipate ourselves as far as possible from the dependence upon Austro-Hungarian markets. Without this our country can have no economic future as an autonomous political unit. If we continue as to-day under the dependence, in economic affairs, of our powerful neighbour, we shall be obliged, despite all our resistance, to consent to a tariff union with Austria-Hungary, as this State has already proposed to us on one occasion. We have already long had a knowledge of the difficulties of our economic situation, but for the last quarter of a century we have undertaken nothing, nor have we made any serious efforts either to develop in the country more

intensive methods, or to find new markets for our exports. Had it been otherwise, we should have been to-day better able to meet the difficulties which await us in this respect.

It is only recently that we have commenced to think seriously about this. In order to open a new line of exportation to our products, the construction of a railway was projected which would join our principal line from Belgrade to Nish, and other secondary lines still to be constructed with the Lower Danube, where a large port would be established. A *débouché* on the Danube at this point is important, because in this way we should avoid the difficulties of navigation at the Iron Gates, and the payment of the dues for the passage by the canal which has been made there. The construction of this line would assure to a great number of our products, especially to our cereals, an access to the markets of the world, because by the Danube we can arrive at the Black Sea.

But the shortest, and at the same time the most natural, railway which would give Servia a *débouché* at the sea for her trade, and would permit her to export her products without hindrance to distant markets, would be the road leading to the Adriatic Sea. It must not be forgotten that our trade followed this road in the Middle Ages, when we were in close relation with Italy. This idea of creating this line is not a new one, but it is very difficult of realization. It would start from Nish, and, passing by Old Servia in Turkey, would follow the Valley of the Drim, and would pass through Scutari, in order to end on the Adriatic coast. Efforts have been made to arrive at an arrangement with Turkey for the construction of this line, but many difficulties have been met with. In this question also our aspirations run counter to the plans of Austria-Hungary. While we are seeking to establish a direct line from Belgrade by Nish, Prizrend, and Scutari, in order to have an exit upon the Adriatic, Austria is working to open for herself a new trade-route, which, starting from Vienna, would pass by Sarajevo, Novi-Bazar, and Mitrovitsa, in order to reach Salonica. Austria wishes to obtain possession of this important seaport, and to realize in this way her designs of expansion, as much economic as political, which embrace all the western portion of the Balkan Peninsula. This design shows itself especially in the plan for the construction of the railway between Sarajevo and Mitrovitsa.

CHAPTER XVI

PRINCIPAL INDUSTRIES

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Agriculture.

The principal industry of our people from ancient times has always been agriculture, and to-day they even busy themselves by preference with agricultural labour to such a degree that the other professions have comparatively little importance in their eyes. In fact, 84·23 per cent. of the total population cultivate the soil and produce raw materials, while 6·68 per cent. follow industrial pursuits, 4·41 per cent. trade, and 4·68 per cent. are in public employments or follow the liberal professions. Notwithstanding this, we are sufficiently backward in the development of it as a science, although it is at the present moment by far the most important branch of our national production. The mass of our agriculturalists remain faithful to the primitive methods of cultivation, based upon habit, and which are handed down from father to son. The agricultural instruments which they use are far from perfect; they use little manure for improving the exhausted soil, and as a result the yield of the soil is small. There are still many regions to-day where the old wooden plough is in use. The iron plough, the mechanical reaper, the steam thresher, and other modern agricultural machines, have only recently commenced to penetrate into the country, and the use of these novelties is only adopted very slowly by the mass of the population. The soil is neither studied nor analyzed, in order to enable a decision to be reached as to which crops are most adapted to certain soils. The use of artificial manure is unknown. Although our soil still contains considerable elements of fertility—it is only necessary to provide our agriculturalists with better ploughs for deeper ploughing—we shall before long commence to feel the necessity of enriching our fields and our pastures with chemical manures, because we do not possess natural manure in sufficient quantity.

Our cultivation is too little intensive, as we shall see below by the statistics of the harvests. We must also add that as yet a relatively small proportion of the soil is cultivated—only 32 per cent. of the total area.

If we wish to apply scientific knowledge such as has been obtained to-day, and to draw from our soil the greatest possible return, it is necessary to entirely change our methods of cultivation. But what is, above all things, necessary to our agriculture is well-organized education, which is able to aid in the improvement of the technical side of production. Although almost the entire population is occupied with field work, we do not possess, frankly, any agricultural education worthy of the name. We only possess to-day two special agricultural schools, of which one is devoted to viticulture and the raising of fruit-trees. The creation of a certain number of practical schools in the agricultural areas has been discussed, but these schools do not as yet exist. The whole system of education with us is exclusive and incomplete, and it is sterile, considered from the economic point of view. Our schools prepare the young people exclusively for public service, and for the liberal professions, instead of giving them useful knowledge, and preparing them for independent professions and for some sort of a practical life. The systematic organization of technical education fit to give to the younger generation an adequate agricultural and industrial preparation is an absolute necessity in our country. But, unfortunately, our authorities do not seem to realize this as much as they should. As far as regards higher agricultural education, the University Law of 1905 provided for the creation of the Agricultural Section in the Faculty of Philosophy, similar to such institutions in Germany, and the opening of this section should take place very shortly.

Within recent years we have commenced to work with more attention towards the diffusion of agricultural knowledge amongst the mass of the population, and to found institutions for the advancement of agriculture. In this work the State joins hands with the different societies and with private individuals. In this way, some years ago, departmental agricultural stations were established, serving as model farms for the different districts, where were practised modern methods of cultivation corresponding more closely to the circumstances and needs of each particular region. By a Law of 1898 all the departments are forced to found an agricultural station, which shall in all respects fulfil the task of providing a practical school for the surrounding country. Each station must have at least 120 acres of land, utilized in the different branches of agriculture. Besides the arable land, four acres must be devoted to the cultivation of various kinds of fruit-trees, and four others

to the production of the best kinds of vines. These agricultural stations must also possess a model apiary, for the keeping of bees, and an establishment for the cultivation of silkworms. For purposes of breeding, the best specimens of the different kinds of cattle must be kept. Finally, each station must establish a practical school for the education of the young villagers. Up to the present, however, only three of these stations exist.

The cost of maintenance of the agricultural stations falls upon the departments. The stations are under the control of State authorities, which have been established recently by a special law. They are divided into two categories—departmental and district; their duty is the teaching of the best and most modern methods of work to the agriculturalists; to watch and see that the agricultural work is begun and finished at the right time; to help the agriculturalists with advice in everything concerning agriculture, and to assist them to obtain agricultural implements, seeds for sowing, breeding animals, etc.; to study the condition and development of the cultivation in their department or district; and to address special reports to the Minister of Agriculture. These institutions are still something new for us; they are not yet properly organized, and do not possess all the necessary agricultural materials. This is the cause why they do not show such brilliant results as do similar institutions in other countries. Our agriculturalists themselves do not appear satisfied with them. This comes from the fact that the country is not yet accustomed to them, and, above all, because we lack men having the necessary ability to exercise the duties of State economies, and capable of satisfying our agriculturalists from a practical point of view.

Amongst our cereals, maize is the most important that is cultivated. It succeeds very well throughout the whole country. Maize is the principal food of our people, constituting almost the sole nourishment of three-quarters of the population.

Year.	Area Sown in Hectares.	Annual Yield in Quintals.	Total Value of Harvest in Francs.	Yield per Hectare in Quintals.	Export in Quintals.	Value of Export in Francs.
1900	463,332·59	4,692,063·27	41,623,707	11·78	625,295·00	5,771,472
1901	506,454·70	4,787,784·50	45,704,674	10·05	453,839·00	4,259,304
1902	524,652,52	4,672,848·00	51,098,222	9·07	277,194·00	2,640,609
1903	533,828·17	4,947,841·00	54,904,695	9·85	43,533·00	388,416
1904	540,800·15	2,412,533·00	31,539,354	4·91	33,064·18	294,895

The yearly harvest has a great effect upon the prosperity of the nation, as the wheat or rice harvest has in other countries. Large quantities of maize are used for the feeding of cattle,

especially for the fattening of pigs, and a considerable portion is exported abroad. There are many sorts of maize, according to the region where it is cultivated. The best quality is the yellow maize, which arrives early at maturity, and of which the grain is of an extraordinary quality. The table on p. 246 shows the annual yield of maize.

In 1904 and 1905 the maize harvest showed a considerable diminution because of the great drought prevailing in Servia.

The cultivation of wheat comes next in importance to that of maize. This grain is chiefly sown in the fertile plains, but it also succeeds very well in the mountainous regions. The wheat is usually utilized for the consumption of the town; a large proportion is also exported, chiefly the variety known as 'red wheat,' and is of a special quality. Our peasants rarely use the wheat for food, save in some districts; they eat almost exclusively maize bread. Recently efforts have been made to improve certain varieties of the wheat of the country, seed grain being bought abroad, especially in Hungary. The cultivation of wheat is fairly considerable, as will be seen by the following statistics of the yield:

Year.	Area Sown in Hectares.	Annual Yield in Quintals.	Total Value of Harvest in Francs.	Yield per Hectare in Quintals.	Annual Export in Quintals.	Value of Export in Francs.
1900	310,032	2,214,069	24,689,586	6·87	988,927	11,408,825
1901	304,813	2,205,087	27,630,452	7·40	595,180	7,698,462
1902	325,583	3,104,925	41,686,049	9·77	505,058	5,645,971
1903	348,062	2,963,296	35,658,494	8·38	502,326	5,776,670
1904	368,399	3,177,774	44,306,922	9·60	831,853	12,772,147

Barley is fairly widely cultivated, because the climatic conditions and the soil are very suitable. Barley is sown at the commencement of winter and in the spring, and ripens early, so that a harvest is possible in the commencement of June. It is used for feeding cattle, and the population in those mountainous regions where cattle are raised. Large quantities are used in the manufacture of beer, and there is a considerable export. The barley crop covers annually about 200,000 acres, and these produce more than 700,000 quintals, which are worth about 7,000,000 francs. The production of oats is also considerable in the mountainous regions. The annual crop reaches 500,000 quintals, worth 5,000,000 francs. Other grains are little cultivated, and only in certain specially favourable regions.

Among commercial plants, flax, hemp, and tobacco are cultivated; the two former articles grow most prolifically in the

Department of Vranya, especially hemp, which is of an excellent quality, and may be compared with the best Italian hemp. The yearly production of hemp in fibre is about 60,000 quintals, while that of flax is about 5,000 quintals. These two plants are largely worked in the country. From them are made the cloth used by the peasants, different sorts of ropes and string, both for the needs of the country, and a considerable quantity is also exported. In order to give a stronger impulse to the production of hemp and flax, two large spinning establishments were founded recently—at Vranjska Banja, and Leskovat. The cultivation of tobacco used formerly to be very universally extensive. To-day it is limited by the State monopoly of tobacco, which has been in existence for a considerable time. Tobacco is only cultivated in certain districts, depending upon the authorization of the Monopoly Administration, which buys the harvests through a special Commission at prices fixed in advance. The annual production of this article slightly exceeds 1,000,000 kilogrammes. The greater part of this is consumed in the country, and only a very little exported. Some years ago an attempt was made to acclimatize certain of the finer varieties of Turkish tobacco, with satisfactory results, which proves that our soil is suitable for the cultivation of tobacco.

The cultivation of the sugar-beet was introduced in 1900 for the first time, and has given very good results. A German company had obtained a concession for the treatment of the sugar-beet, and had erected near Belgrade a sugar-factory, which commenced to work with great success, but, owing to certain difficulties and misunderstandings with the State on the subject of the payment of rates and taxes, they were obliged to stop work after a short time. The same company obtained a second time the concession which it formerly possessed, and the sugar-factory is again working. The beetroot produced in Servia contains a sufficient proportion of sugar. Our agriculturalists take kindly to the production of this article, which pays better than any other plant. The average yield per hectare is 250 quintals, and the area sown with beetroot amounted to about 3,000 acres in the first year after the foundation of the factory. It will be necessary to establish another factory in the interior of the country, close to a railway-line, in order to facilitate transport.

Fruit-Growing.

The cultivation of fruit-trees is one of the most important branches of production. The natural conditions of our country are very favourable to the production of different sorts of fruit of an excellent quality, and this is especially true of the

mountainous regions. The cultivation of fruit-trees will be one of the most important sources of wealth to our country, especially for exportation, when there shall have been a greater development, towards which much has been done in recent years. The prospects of an increased export are especially good, owing to the fact that our fruits are very much appreciated in foreign countries. Of the various fruits, the plum is most widely cultivated, especially the variety known as Pozegaca, which is of exceptional quality. This fruit has a great importance, both as regards internal consumption, and still more as an article of export. This plum contains much sugar, and has a very fine flavour. In certain mountain regions our plums may compare favourably with the best kinds of French plums both for flavour and size. Servian prunes are famous in foreign markets, and are much sought after. The plum in Servia is used in many ways, which is the reason why it is produced in greater quantity than other fruits. The yearly crop has as great, if not a greater, influence upon the prosperity of the people than has the yield of maize or of wheat, because the plum does not yield a large crop every year. Fresh ripe plums are largely consumed in the country, and in recent years an exportation of this fruit in this form has commenced on a large scale. From plums is manufactured an excellent brandy known under the name of Sljivovitsa. It is also made into a marmalade, which is largely exported ; but the principal use of the plums is to make dried prunes, of which enormous quantities are exported. The drying of plums in Servia dates back to the middle of last century. In those days the system of drying was very primitive, but to-day this has been changed for the better by the introduction of a better system of drying furnaces. The State controls the export of prunes, and takes many steps to improve the quality to the highest possible point of this important branch of national production. Measures are taken to guard against unscrupulous producers and exporters in order that this article may keep its good name abroad. During the export season the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce establishes special Commissions in the principal places of export, which are entrusted with the supervision of this trade, and which do not permit the exportation of prunes badly dried or of bad quality. The value of our exports of prunes and plum marmalade often attains an important sum, depending upon the crop and the state of the market. Thus, for example, the export of these articles reached the value of 12,000,000 francs in 1897, which was an exceptional year. The table on p. 250 shows the area devoted to the cultivation of plum-trees, the yield and the exportation of dried prunes during the six years from 1900 to 1905.

The annual production of plum marmalade is considerable, and the great proportion of it is exported. The export of this article reached 151,802 quintals, valued at 3,000,000 francs, in 1904.

Among other fruit-trees which are cultivated are apple-trees, pear-trees, peach-trees, nut-trees, etc., from which there is a considerable production. The cultivation of fruit-trees receives much more attention now than formerly. A law was recently passed with the object of developing this cultivation, by which each district is obliged to possess a nursery of fruit-trees, covering at least 5 hectares.

Year.	Area Sown in Hectares.	Annual Yield in Quintals.	Total Value of Harvest in Francs.	Yield per Hectare in Quintals.	Export in Quintals.	Value of Export in Francs.
1900	110,540·54	3,693,486	29,547,889	40·79	271,546·81	8,001,482
1901	116,047·10	2,647,412	19,641,631	29·00	229,526·64	6,990,844
1902	125,174·59	4,683,898	26,399,041	39·68	354,615·76	8,951,294
1903	146,226·38	2,243,540	18,272,922	28·31	156,641·94	5,013,360
1904	151,376·81	4,652,057	23,069,081	27·34	405,023·88	6,274,544

Viticulture.

Grape-vines flourish in Servia, principally in certain special regions. Before the advent of phylloxera in 1882 the Servian vineyards covered an area of about 200,000 acres. The production of wine exceeded the local demand, and the surplus was exported to France and Switzerland. But since the phylloxera, which gradually destroyed the vineyards, the production of wine has much diminished, and does not now suffice for the local needs. It was necessary to import great quantities of foreign vines, principally from Italy, Turkey, and Greece. Even to-day the importation of these vines continues. Profiting by the experience of other vine-growing countries, we have endeavoured to reorganize our vineyards with American plants, and we have in this respect obtained some very satisfying results so far. The State, as well as private individuals, spares no efforts in working for the re-establishment of our viticulture. A law was recently voted for the creation of nurseries for vines, in order to supply the viticulturists with American plants at a moderate cost. These nurseries are also of other service to those who are planting a large area with vines. To-day there are six large nurseries of vines belonging to the State, and many others belonging to the districts and private individuals. If we continue to work in this direction, as has been done up till now, our vineyards will soon be re-established, and our production of

wine will increase to a great degree. We will have not only enough wine for the needs of the country, but shall be enabled to export great quantities abroad. The grapes ripen in many regions, but the most famous for the quality of the wine are at Krajina, Zupa, Prokuplje, Vrănya, Kniajevats, Nish, Jelica, and Smederevo. Two varieties of Servian wine are particularly appreciated abroad—Negotin, which resembles closely Burgundy wines both in colour and taste, and the white wines of Smederevo, which are superior to many of the French wines. The vines of Smederevo produce an excellent grape almost unrivalled for flavour, which is largely exported to Austria-Germany and Germany. To-day there are in Servia about 100,000 acres devoted to vineyards, and the value of the annual production of wine is estimated at over 20,000,000 francs.

Cattle.

The raising of cattle is the most important branch of our national production. For long Servia has been known as a cattle country, where the conditions are very favourable for the production of different kinds of stock. Cattle and the products of cattle constitute the principal article of our export trade. The value of this export reaches and sometimes even exceeds 50 per cent. of the value of our total exports. The meat of the Servian cattle is much appreciated abroad for its excellent qualities, which come from the fact that the cattle live in the open air, feed in natural pastures, drink pure water in rivers and brooks, and are thus protected from any disease.

The animals which are raised in Servia are horned cattle, sheep, goats, horses, and pigs. The raising of horned cattle is conducted on a large scale, because the country lends itself well to this. More than 600,000 acres of land are covered by natural pastures, which provide a great quantity of forage for the cattle. After pigs, horned cattle are the most important article of our export trade. Besides furnishing milk and meat, they are also used as beasts of burden. Oxen are used for agricultural field labour and for the drawing of carts much more often than are horses. The best bovine races are found in the fertile plains of the Kolubara, the Jasenich, and the Resava. The animals of these plains are large, and easily fattened. In the mountainous regions, on the contrary, the animals are small, but of very great endurance. Attempts have been made to cross the Servian cattle with those of foreign countries. But these attempts, which have been conducted in the State farms, have not given good results, except with the Siementhal race. The climatic conditions are different, and foreign races cannot endure the change. The animals resulting from the crossing

are disposed of at low prices to private individuals in order to increase reproduction.

The production of the smaller horned cattle, sheep, and goats used to be much more considerable when there existed more free land on which they could be pastured. The raising of sheep and goats diminishes sensibly to-day as the land is transformed into arable land. Sheep are raised because of their value in many various ways; the mutton, as well as the milk and the cheese of the ewes, serves as food for the rural population. Much of the mutton is exported to Turkey. Sheepskins are partly worked in the country and partly exported. The wool is used in all the village houses for the preparation of clothes for our peasants. The wool from our sheep is not of the best quality, which makes it necessary to import the finer qualities. Good results have been obtained from crossing the native breed with Hampshires, in order to improve the quality of the wool. There are much fewer goats than sheep in Servia, and they are found principally in the mountainous regions.

Although the natural conditions are very favourable for the development of the cattle industry, the production of milk is limited, and too small to allow of the development of the manufacture of cheese. Part of the milk is consumed by the agriculturalists themselves, and with the remainder they make butter and a sort of soft cheese, which is eaten by the country people. In the mountainous districts, which are rich in pasture, from the most ancient times there have existed associations which bear the name of Bacije, and which are formed by the population. They are composed of members who decide to pasture their animals in common, and to manufacture butter and cheese for export to Turkey.

Horse-breeding is not nearly so much developed as it should be. The native race is distinguished by its small size, its regular form, and its great endurance, especially in the mountain regions. The Servian race has been crossed with English-Normandy strain. For this object a State stud-farm has been founded, which forms a part of the general State organization for the raising of cattle. Here the races are crossed each year, and in the spring the stallions are sent to different parts of the country for the improvement of the native race. Although horse-breeding has made some progress during the last twenty years, the numbers are still insufficient for the needs of the country, and we are obliged to import great numbers of horses from abroad.

But it is the breeding of pigs which is the object of our greatest care. This is quite justified, because the pigs form an enormously important article in our export trade, and the flesh

of the pigs, bacon and fat, form a large part of the food of our population. Pig-raising is a secondary and easy occupation, thanks especially to the climatic conditions, which are perhaps more favourable than in any other country. All the agriculturalists raise pigs besides their ordinary agricultural work, and this brings them in a very good profit. The meat from the Servian pigs is of an excellent quality, and is much appreciated abroad; it is superior to the flesh of American pigs in its nutritious value and its flavour. Servia possesses a very good breed of pigs, known under the name of the Shumadija, which is the most general throughout the country. This breed of pigs is distinguished by its size, since they reach the weight of 150 kilogrammes. They fatten easily and quickly, and, most important of all, they are very strong, and resist disease. The efforts which have been made in order to introduce foreign breeds do not seem to have given the best results. These experiments have been made chiefly with Berkshire and Yorkshire pigs, either pure bred or crossed with the native race. It is true that the results of the cross-breeding have a rapid development, but they are not able to endure our climate as well as the native pig.

We export many pigs, but only living to the market of Buda-Pesth. In 1904 147,275 pigs were exported, each weighing 120 kilogrammes. A great quantity of the flesh of pigs is also exported. The slaughter-houses at Belgrade furnished, in 1902, 64,780 pigs, with a total weight of 5,000,000 kilogrammes. The meat was exported to the Vienna market, but is now also sent in considerable quantities to France and England.

Poultry-raising could in time become a great source of wealth to our country, but as yet it has received but little attention. A German has established at Velika Plana a slaughter-house where the chickens are killed and prepared for exportation. The actual export of living or dead chickens and of eggs is insignificant compared with the possibilities of future developments.

We must note with regret that the number of cattle is diminishing, as appears from the statistics of recent years. This results from the encroachment of arable land upon pastoral land, and because our agriculturalists have not yet accustomed themselves to feed the cattle systematically in stables. This constitutes an ever-increasing danger for cattle-raising—all the more so because in the last few years there was an excessive export of cattle abroad—so that we have now to face a diminution even in the number of our breeding cattle. It is true, however, that our cattle improve in quality as they decrease in number. But this must not be taken to prove that our methods of raising cattle have improved. On the contrary,

we still have much to do in this direction if we are to increase the number and to improve the quality of our cattle.

By a law for the improvement of methods of cattle-raising, each commune must possess a sufficient number of breeding-stock; but what is most important is to make it clear to our agriculturalists that it is necessary for them to interest themselves more in the production of cattle, and to teach them rational methods. The following table shows the value of the cattle and cattle products, and of poultry, which Servia exported during the three years from 1902 to 1904:

	1902.	1903.	1904.
	Francs.	Francs.	Francs.
Cattle	12,351,830	13,779,639	9,264,673
Pigs	16,888,573	14,987,490	14,916,999
Horses, sheep, goats	614,108	438,083	627,789
Meat (chiefly pork), lard, grease, butter, cheese, etc.	6,512,030	3,548,936	2,031,461
Hides (raw and manufactured), and other cattle products ..	2,826,119	1,762,495	2,640,776
Poultry, eggs, feathers, and cocoons	3,623,338	3,657,019	2,903,543
Total	42,815,998	38,173,662	32,385,241

Sericulture.

Despite the favourable climatic conditions of the country, sericulture is very little developed in Servia. It is only during the last few years that we have commenced to pay much attention to it. The State takes now certain measures in order to encourage the cultivation of silkworms. There have been bought in France and in Italy silkworm eggs produced on the Pasteur system, which are distributed gratuitously to those interested, who bind themselves to sell to the State at least half of the cocoons produced. Practical courses on the cultivation of silkworms are given in the agricultural stations. Steps are taken to increase the number of white mulberry-trees, young plants being given freely to those willing to plant them, and the State assures the sale of the cocoons produced. A concession has been given to a silk factory recently constructed at Lapovo for the purpose of developing this industry. This factory contains model drying appliances and machines for emptying the cocoons. In 1903 this factory was taken by a company which obtained still further privileges. The enterprise is working to-day, and is doing much to encourage the

cultivation of silkworms. The peasants already recognize the advantages which it gives, and they devote themselves to it more and more. The production of cocoons is as yet, however, small. But there is every prospect that it will increase very considerably in the immediate future, thanks principally to the company mentioned above. The annual export of cocoons has already reached over 50,000 kilogrammes.

Forests.

Servia was very rich in forests at the beginning of the 19th century. With the increase of the population, however, it became necessary to increase the area of arable land, and as there was no more available in the plains and valleys, it was necessary to clear the forests in all places suitable for tillage. In this way the clearing of the forests nearest to the villages began first. They were soon scattered with fields, pastures, and stretches of grass. Further, as the construction of roads, railroad, and other means of communication advanced, the value of wood increased, and the needs of the population developed with the increase of civilization. In order to partially satisfy them it was necessary to sell the wood, and the felling of the forests began for the purpose of its sale. All these causes resulted in the second half of the 19th century in a considerable diminution of the forest area in Servia. It must also be mentioned that the war with Turkey in 1876 to 1878, and the war with Bulgaria in 1885, contributed very largely to this result, because great stretches of forest were felled along the Servian frontier, near Turkey, Bosnia, and Bulgaria, either for strategic reasons or for the needs of the army.

The forests in Servia are not yet completely surveyed and measured, which prevents an exact knowledge of their extent. In order to delimit the forests belonging to the State and those belonging to others, a law on modern lines was passed in 1891, according to which this work is to be carried out by a special Commission. Since then the conditions of this law on the forests has been modified and added to. They have been applied up to the present to the delimitation of the State forests up to more than 70,000 hectares. The remaining State forests will be deliminated with the least possible delay.

According to the official document and the opinion of competent men, it is estimated that there are the following forests in Servia: 555,000 hectares of State forests, 650,000 hectares belonging to communes and villages, 17,000 hectares belonging to monasteries and churches, and 300,000 hectares belonging to private individuals. According to these figures, the total

extent of all the forests in Servia amounts to about 1,517,000 hectares, or 31·4 per cent. of the total area of the country. Of the forests of Servia, 36·2 belong to the State, 42·8 to communes and villages, 1·1 per cent. to monasteries and churches, and 19·9 per cent. to private individuals.

Nearly all the varieties of trees and shrubs of Central Europe are to be found in the forests of Servia. The trees and bushes have grown naturally, and are the result of chance seeds or shoots. They form in some cases woods of one variety or containing all varieties. It is estimated that there are 40 per cent. of forests of a single species and 60 per cent. of forests composed of various varieties. Forests composed of leafy trees, either of one or more varieties, occupy the greatest area; forests of conifers, which are relatively much less numerous in Servia, occupy a much smaller area. It is estimated that the former forests comprise 90 per cent., and the latter about 10 per cent., of the total Servian forest. Amongst the forests of leafy trees the most numerous are the beech forests, and even in the forests of mixed trees it is the beech which largely predominates. It may be said that Servia is extraordinarily rich in beech forests, these being found in every part of the country in greater or lesser quantities. All these forests have been ripe for cutting for a long time, and their area amounts to 60 per cent. of the total forest area.

The oak forests come next in importance to those of beech, and cover a considerable area, scattered over all the country. The largest and the finest of these forests are to be found in the department of Toplitza. The oak forests form 25 per cent. of the total forest area of Servia, and consist of forests containing only oaks, and those in which the oak-trees predominate.

Among the forests found in less great quantities are those composed of maple, ash, elm, lime, birch, poplar, willow, etc. Their total area only amounts to 5 per cent. of the forest-land, and they are to be found in all parts of the country.

The forests of conifers are to be principally found in the South-West of Servia, in the departments Oujitze, Tchatchak, Krushevats. They are also found in very small quantity in the East of Servia, especially in the department of Pirot. Some of the forests are solely composed of conifers and other resinous trees, while others are mixed with leafy trees, principally beeches. In all they compose 10 per cent. of the total forests of Servia.

The forests of State, which amount to about 550,000 hectares, are composed as follows: Beech forests, 55 per cent., or 302,500 hectares; oak forests, 25 per cent., or 137,500 hectares; forests of other leafy trees, 5 per cent., or 27,000 hectares;

and forests of conifers, 15 per cent., or 82,500 hectares. These State forests are spread over all the country. The extent of the forests in some localities does not exceed some hundred of hectares; in other localities it reaches several thousand hectares. There are some which cover enormous stretches of country up to 50,000 and even more hectares. Such a one is to be found in the North of Servia, in the department of Praina, known as the State forest of Mirotch, with a total area of more than 27,000 hectares. It has been surveyed and divided into four parts, of which the largest, 'Veliki i Mali Chtrvatz,' includes 17,000 hectares. To the south of Mirotch there is the State forest of Deli Yovan, which is also surveyed, and covers an area of 70,000 hectares. Besides these forests, there is in the North of Servia an enormous forest zone, not yet surveyed, between the River Povetchka and the Danube, to the east and north, and a line which, starting from the small town of Golubats, would pass by Despotovats and finish at Bolievatz, to the west and south. This enormous area is, it is true, scattered with villages, but, nevertheless, it is very heavily wooded. It is located in the departments of Kraina, Pojarevats, Timok, and Morava, and is by far the greatest mass of forests existing in Servia. The wooded area is estimated to cover at least 128,000 hectares. The forests of Mirotch and of Deli Yovan, as well as this immense stretch of forest-land, are almost entirely composed of leafy trees, amongst which the beech predominates, and after this the oak, elm, and maple. There are also, however, a small number of conifers. All these forests are ripe for cutting, and work has been commenced in one or two.

In the West of Servia, besides some stretches of forest of smaller importance, there exists a mountain chain with its centre at Valjevo, which is heavily wooded. Although not yet surveyed, it covers an area of about 20,000 hectares. There is also an important forest stretch with its centre at Boragna, in the department of Podrigne, in the neighbourhood of the Drina. This extends to 15,000 hectares. These two stretches of forest are filled with old beech-trees, mixed in places with oak, maple, elm, and other leafy trees, and with a small number of conifers; these latter chiefly upon the Malijen. The State has undertaken no exploitation as yet. Of all the forest areas in the West of Servia, the most important at the present moment is that located in the department of Ujitse, on the banks of the Drina, which is known by the general name of the Mountain of Tara. Its area exceeds 25,000 hectares. This forest is chiefly composed of conifers, notably the *Pinus laricio*, and spruce-trees, *Pinus omvrica*. There are also beech-trees, maple-trees, and other little trees.

This forest is ripe for cutting, and its exploitation by the State constitutes the greatest forest development of the country.

In the south-west portion of Servia there is an immense forest stretch in the department of Tchatchak, extending from the western bank of the Morava to the Turkish frontier, and including the important State forests of Goc and Kopaonik. This great forest stretch, as yet unsurveyed, is scattered with villages in certain parts. It is estimated that it covers more than 80,000 hectares of forest. Lying at an altitude of more than 800 metres, it is covered with conifers, principally spruce and ordinary firs. Leafy trees flourish in the lower portion, especially beech and oak. The forest is almost entirely ripe for cutting, and the State is felling the conifers in certain places.

In the East of Servia are to be found many great stretches of forest belonging to the State, as well as some of less importance. Amongst the greatest forests are that of Yastribats, with an area of 4,000 hectares; the forests of the department of Toplitsa, with an area of about 50,000 hectares; the forest of Koukavitsa, covering nearly 30,000 hectares; and, finally, the forest situated on the Bulgarian frontier, which has also an area of about 30,000 hectares. All these forests are covered with leafy trees, principally beech-trees, save in the department of Toplitsa, where the oak predominates, and where it is exported at the present time.

All the forest administration in Servia belongs to the forest section in the Ministry of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry. It is this forest system which directs the works for the survey of the State forests. In order to provide for the payment of officials and agents, and for the progress of sylviculture in Servia, a law of 1891 created a special Forest Fund, into which are paid all the receipts derived from the State forests. In the end of 1904 this fund amounted to 1,114,160 francs.

The forests in Servia are not the object of extensive work, owing to the insufficiency of foresters. This cause, and also the unsettled question of the ownership of a great number of forests, and also the lack of railways and roads in general, result in a very low revenue from the forests of the State, out of all proportion to the extent and the riches of the State forests. The gross receipts were, in 1900, 362,600 francs; in 1901, 409,957 francs; in 1902, 369,875 francs; in 1903, 628,767 francs; and in 1904, 549,805 francs. During these same years the expenses amounted to 196,026 francs, 290,694 francs, 263,466 francs, 290,118 francs, and 339,568 francs respectively. This gives the net revenue for the State forests of 166,574 francs in 1900, 119,263 francs in 1901, 6,409 francs in 1902, 324,657 francs in 1903, and 210,237 francs in 1904.

These revenues are at present quite insignificant. Besides the causes mentioned it must be remembered that in the forests of Servia the work is conducted only on a very small scale. In 1904 only six forest sections were being utilized by the cutting of wood for sale. In the forests of Golubats and of Alexinats beech-wood was cut for fuel; at Prokuplje oak-wood was cut for industrial use; at Bajina Bashta, at Raschka, and at Kraljievo pine-trees were felled for saw-mills. The cutting of trees in that year produced about 100,000 cubic metres of beech for fuel, 7,000 of oak for industrial purposes, and 40,000 of resinous wood.

The other forest sections to the number of fourteen have not had any considerable felling. There have only been ordinary wood-cutting for the domestic needs of the peasants, according to the law which reserves to them the right of free wood-cutting if they pay less than 15 francs of direct taxes yearly, the same right being accorded them very cheaply if they pay more taxes. In this way the wood-cutting in the whole country amounted in 1904 to about 200,000 cubic metres of wood for fuel and construction. The Government has taken measures for the increase of the forest revenue by the construction of new roads, and by opening for exploitation such forests as are already accessible. It is, therefore, to be hoped that this revenue will soon reach a figure more in proportion with the vast area of the State forests in Servia.

Because of the insignificance of the wood-cutting, the trades and industries in wood are little developed in Servia. Up to the present there only exist in the country four saw-mills of any importance which possess adequate tools: one on the Mountain of Kopaonik, one at Shabats, and two at Belgrade. They deal principally with pine-wood. Besides these, the country possesses about 150 primitive saw-mills worked by water-power, and at Ujitse an electric saw-mill with one saw. Almost all the wood for construction produced by these saw-mills is consumed in the country; and one is also obliged to import from abroad, principally from Austria-Hungary, a great quantity of wood for construction and other purposes.

Statistics for the importation and exportation of wood during a period of five years show that the importation enormously surpasses the exportation. The cause for this is undoubtedly the small development which has as yet taken place in the wood industry of Servia.

MANUFACTURES.

This branch of production exists with us chiefly in the primitive form of working raw materials, such as domestic industry and arts. In addition to their field-work, our peasants busy themselves with working the raw products, especially during the winter. In each village house the women work the hemp, the flax, and wool, making with an admixture of cotton, cloth for the clothing of the members of the family; while the men make wooden, stone, and earthenware objects. Formerly this domestic industry was much more developed than now. The people gave much more time to it, and it sufficed to satisfy most of the limited range of needs of the mass of our people. But as our economic relations with Western countries became closer, the influence of the manufacturing industries of foreign countries had an increasing effect, destroying more and more native handicrafts, until to-day our domestic industry is in very marked decadence. In the towns and villages the manufactured goods imported from abroad are preferred to the hand-made goods of the country, being thought attractive and cheaper. This decadence of domestic industry has many consequences, of which one is the disappearance of all originality in our national costume, which is being gradually replaced by the clothes of the Western countries.

There are, however, certain branches of domestic industry which still hold their own fairly well, and which could have an assured future if they were slightly modernized. This is especially true of certain branches of the textile industry. The manufacture of woollen carpets, known under the name of Pirot carpets, deserves special mention. These carpets are woven by women in a primitive manner on hand-looms. The Pirot carpets are distinguished by their excellent qualities, especially by the originality of their design, and by the bright and permanent colouring. These articles sell for good prices as a speciality of our domestic handicraft, not only in the country, but also abroad. The Pirot carpets have obtained high awards in all international exhibitions. This branch of domestic industry could achieve greater development if it were better organized, and if more capital was put into it.

Such handicrafts as are found in our towns are still in a primitive state. This branch of industry, save some modern handicrafts introduced from abroad, has only a local importance, and is only continued because of the habit of local purchasers who have not yet abandoned the use of articles of home manufacture. But this kind of industry, as well as the

work in the families, suffers more and more from the competition of foreign manufactures, and is scarcely able to continue to exist; besides which, nothing is done to develop it, or to improve it from the technical side, or to make the artisans and the small producers more competent to work successfully. We see how little the development of handicrafts interests us by the fact that the law for the organization of such work, dating from 1847, is in force to-day, although in reality this law has long ceased to satisfy the actual conditions. But it is very difficult to regenerate the domestic industry, because the foreign manufactured articles have accustomed the people to buy them rather than those made in the country. The domestic industry and handicrafts do not satisfy the needs of our country, and thus we are obliged to import great quantities of industrial articles of which we have need.

With regard to manufacturing on a large scale, this is still in its infancy. Besides the difficulties which we have already mentioned as impeding the creation of this important branch of national industry, we must admit that until very recently nothing was done in the direction of organizing such manufactures. The prevalent idea amongst our governing classes was that we should remain an agricultural country, and should concentrate all our efforts on the development of agriculture, in order to increase the yield, and thus to increase the export of our raw materials, in exchange for which we should receive foreign manufactured goods which we needed. That was an absolutely false idea. No country, however excellently its agriculture may be organized, can develop freely and independently unless it possesses to a certain degree its own industries, which should be able to manufacture those articles at least which are consumed by the great proportion of the people. This argument applies especially to us, since we are forced to accept it owing to the new commercial policy of the Central European States. This policy, with its high customs tariff directed against the importation of agricultural products, has brought about a very difficult condition of affairs for Servia, a purely agricultural country. In fact, it has become very difficult for us to export our raw materials, and we have not as yet in the country the necessary manufacturing industry to absorb them. This state of things in itself causes us to make the greatest possible effort towards the creation of a national manufacturing industry. We already recognize this necessity, and during the last year certain measures have been taken, and many facilities have been granted to assist in the establishment of such industrial enterprises. Thus, any persons desiring to establish a new branch of industry in the country are relieved from the payment of the customs duties

on machines, on raw materials, and on half-manufactured articles of which they have need. In this respect no distinction is made as to whether they are Servian citizens or foreigners. These enterprises are also free from the payment of the tax on patents; the necessary ground for the buildings and factories is granted to them gratuitously; the coal from the State mines is supplied to them at cost price; and they enjoy a reduction of 25 per cent. on the railway freight tariff for the carriage of their goods. These facilities have contributed to the establishment and development of certain industries in our country.

But the creation of industries by means of concessions runs a great danger of producing an artificial condition of things, and it is possible that all the materials may be imported from abroad, and only undergo the last phase of treatment in the country. It is also necessary to exercise caution in thus giving privileges to industrial enterprises. In a young country commencing to develop it is especially necessary to encourage such industries as are based upon agriculture—that is to say, such as are able to make use of the national production at least to a certain degree. Such branches of industry would be established under favourable conditions, and might hope for permanent success. This is what happens in our country. The industries which succeed best in Servia are flour-mills, breweries, sugar refineries, meat-packing, milk-condensing, etc.—that is to say, industries which avail themselves of the raw materials of the country.

Flour-mills show the greatest development in comparison with other industries, and it is probable that there will be a still greater development. Since it will be very difficult in the future to export our cereals to Austria-Hungary because of the high tariff, we must pay more attention to the development of milling, in order to be in a position to export cereals in the form of flour. The capital invested in the flour-mills amounts to about 7,000,000 francs, and the annual production of flour exceeds 600,000 quintals. This production suffices for the country's needs, and also allows a considerable exportation, chiefly to Turkey.

The same may be said of the brewing industry, which supplies the requirements of the country, where, however, the use of beer is not very widespread. The seven breweries which exist to-day represent the capital of something over 3,000,000 francs. The annual production of beer amounts to nearly 70,000 hectolitres, worth 3,000,000 francs. Except 3,000 hectolitres exported to Turkey, the whole of this beer was consumed in the country.

The sugar industry is favourably situated as regards the

most important conditions necessary for its development. The sugar factory, which was shut during three years, has recommenced work. The country will furnish an increasing quantity of the necessary material for the manufacture of sugar of a good quality. Our peasants gladly grow sugar-beet, because they have already seen that very good profits are to be made from this product. But the maintenance of this branch of national industry must necessarily depend to a great degree on the amount of protection that we are able to give it against foreign competition by means of the Customs tariff.

The manufacture of cheese has every chance of a great future, because every condition is favourable, and Servia is *par excellence* a grazing country. Until recently, however, there was no cheese manufactured systematically. To-day, even, there is only one cheese factory which is well organized and equipped with the most modern appliances. It belongs to M. Drashkovitch, formerly Minister of Agriculture, and makes cheeses according to Swiss methods. Many of the agricultural associations have, however, also commenced to produce butter and cheese. Both of these articles are in great demand in the towns, and have already reduced considerably the importation of foreign butter and cheese. When this industry shall have had time to develop itself properly, it will not only be sufficient for the needs of the country, but there will be the possibility to export great quantities of butter and cheese abroad. But it is absolutely necessary that it should receive a better organization. There is a great lack of men with the necessary technical knowledge who could organize this industry upon a wider basis. The State has sent students abroad, especially to Switzerland, in order to study the preparation of dairy products.

Meat-packing promises soon to become the most important branch of our industry. Until now we have exported the majority of our cattle living to the market of Buda-Pesth. We have scarcely troubled to slaughter in the country in order to prepare the meat, and to export it in a preserved form, although this would have undoubtedly been much more advantageous. To-day, however, when we see our export of cattle forbidden by Austria-Hungary and Germany, we are forced by circumstances to develop the meat-packing industry on a large scale, and to find for the articles thus produced new markets independent of those of Austria-Hungary. It is ten years since a beginning was made with the slaughter of cattle in order to export their flesh. To-day two establishments exist in the country—one, the larger, at Belgrade, the other at Velika Plana. Here are killed each year great numbers of

cattle and poultry. The value of the meat exported annually reaches the sum of 6,000,000 francs. These slaughter-houses devote themselves at present only to the slaughter of cattle, and to the export of the meat. It would, however, be possible to manufacture a great quantity of preserved meat on the American system for exportation. If our commercial treaty with Austria does not secure favourable conditions for the export of cattle or for the transit of fresh meat, conditions which would permit us to reach the Western market, the only thing that will remain will be for us to preserve our meat.

The leather industry has a great field in our country, for on the one side we export a great number of raw hides to be treated abroad, and on the other side we import much leather for various purposes. Besides several small establishments which prepare leather, there exists a tannery equipped with modern appliances, and possessing ample capital. Its annual production of various kinds of leather is valued at 600,000 francs. Recently this institution has commenced the manufacture of shoes.

The textile industry is in a fair way to development. We possess two well-equipped factories on a small scale for the manufacture of a rough cloth called Soukno. One of these factories also manufactures braid and other trimmings, which are in great demand in the Balkan countries. The annual production of these two factories amounts to nearly 1,000,000 francs. There are also two establishments for weaving of cotton and flax. One is at Belgrade, and manufactures in great quantities various sorts of cloth, sail-cloth, etc. The other, situated at Ujitse, and worked by electricity, produces fine cotton and linen cloth, which command high prices in the country. This latter factory has only recently begun to work, and has as yet a small output.

The working of hemp will become one of the most important branches of our textile industries. As has been mentioned before, we possess at Vranjska Banja a large factory for the treatment of hemp. This was built in 1903 by a German who had obtained a concession for the spinning of hemp, and who intended to export spun hemp. This concern has met with great success, and has benefited considerably all the neighbourhood. Its annual capacity is 1,000,000 kilogrammes of hemp. The reasons which help to make this industry a success are, first, because this region is especially favourable to the cultivation of hemp, and, secondly, because the factory is situated in a place which is very suitable for working hemp, there being important sulphur springs, where the water is of a high temperature. This water, after having been used for the sulphur baths, is employed for the soaking of the hemp, making

it easier to manipulate, the great heat of the water allowing the hemp to be sufficiently soaked in twenty-four hours, and bleaching and rendering glossy the threads. The production of hemp in this region has more than doubled since the construction of the factory. A hectare of hemp gives our peasants a cash profit higher than that given by any other cultivation of the same area. The concessionaire has exported great quantities of spun hemp ; but he has the intention of enlarging his factory in order to be able to manufacture different hempen articles, chiefly rope. A similar factory has been recently founded at Leskovats, in the same part of the country.

Amongst those industries which rely solely upon the raw materials of the country mention must be made of the timber industry, which might well become very important owing to the richness of the country in forests. But this industry scarcely exists as yet, because scarcely anything is done towards the utilization of the forests. A steam saw-mill at Belgrade and some other more primitive ones in the provinces produce only 200,000 francs' worth of trimmed wood. Thus it happens that we import from abroad much of the trimmed wood necessary for our building. This industry cannot make great development, however, until our forests are felled on a large scale and systematically. The paper industry could also be introduced with success, because the consumption and, in consequence, the importation of this article increase unceasingly ; but as yet no attempts have been made to introduce this industry into the country, although the Government would be ready to grant very favourable concessions.

The metal industry has had much difficulty to contend with, but some years ago there was constructed at Belgrade a fairly large metal-working establishment, which received important privileges from the State. Here are manufactured chiefly agricultural instruments and machines and furniture, for which are imported half-manufactured materials. But, although considerable activity has been shown in the manufacture, the annual production is far from being sufficient for the needs of the country to-day, and it must be remembered that the importation of metal goods increases every year.

Generally speaking, it may be said that the importance of the manufacturing industry is small, judged by the statistics of the annual production. It is estimated that the sixty odd industrial undertakings of any size which exist represent only motive force of 4,000 horse-power, that they employ about 4,000 workmen, and that their yearly production of goods does not reach 15,000 francs in value. We may say that Servia is in a transition state in her economic development. The country is entering upon the phase of more intensive work.

We have abandoned the former idea of exporting the greatest possible quantity of raw materials without considering the great advantage which was to be reaped from utilizing them in the country in manufactures. In the future we must work with all our force towards the development of all branches of industry which promise possibility of success. This is forced upon us by the wealth of our natural resources, and by the great variety of the production of our country. Servia, looked at from this point of view, is a rich mine in which the work has scarcely commenced. In order to successfully accomplish this work, two things are necessary for us above all others : a greater industrial ability amongst our artisans and workmen, who need technical instruction, and more considerable capital. Our country does not possess sufficient capital. We must therefore seek it abroad. We should take all the necessary steps in order to facilitate the introduction of foreign capital into our country, where it will find the most profitable employment. We must find a large amount of capital on favourable terms, first for the building of railways, and then for the regulation of rivers, the reclamation of marshy lands, the exploiting of forests and mines, the creation of various industrial enterprises, and, in a word, for the founding of the great industrial equipment without which our country will never be able to fully utilize the abundance of its natural wealth.

CHAPTER XVII

RURAL CO-OPERATION

BY M. AVRAMOVITCH

IT must not be forgotten that the society of Servia was, until very recently, founded upon the family as a unit, not upon the individual. This fact it was which in the past gave great force of resistance to the nation, and enabled it to emerge successfully from many and terrible trials. But modern ideas led gradually to the dissolution of the family as an economic unit, although it still remains one for other things, and there arose the great question as to what should take its place. It is for this reason that co-operation was introduced, and it was hoped that the agricultural classes would avail themselves of this modern substitute, and so maintain all the best ideas of the family system while freeing themselves from its hide-bound limitations. The co-operative idea was adopted with avidity in the country, and the great and increasing success which it has attained in the agricultural population, who form more than 80 per cent. of the nation, is very encouraging. The fact that the co-operative movement has not succeeded so well in the towns only goes to prove that the inhabitants of the Servian towns have already lost many of the best of the old Servian ideas of family and united action. The town co-operatives are dealt with first, however, in order to be chronologically accurate.

It was not before 1870 that co-operative societies for the production of the small artisans came into being in Servia, at first in Belgrade, then in other towns of the interior. They were small productive associations, in which the small artisans generally played the principal part. Naturally, the work was done on a small scale, as in private establishments, without the employment of large machines. When the members of the society themselves could not satisfy the demand, they employed workmen, who were placed under the conditions prevailing in the establishment. Under such conditions it was inevitable that great technical development could not be reached, and the associations naturally fell far short of showing satisfactory

results, even as regards the profits for their members. There already existed at that time similar societies for the majority of larger trades—carpenters, tailors, manufacturers of Opanques (a shoe worn by the peasants), smiths, etc.—in all, some twenty, scattered over the country; but as new societies came into being the old ones disappeared.

To-day there are in the towns scarcely two or three co-operative societies for the small artisans. This is easily explained, because it was very difficult to bring together the small artisans, and to place them under discipline; also, there was a lack of sufficient capital. Besides this, the producer has never yet shown himself a good salesman, and those results which have been obtained by the English co-operative associations, with their wholesale societies and with their large production, are the best proof that this system cannot be founded merely upon a union of producers, and that the only means of establishing this system is to centralize and organize the consuming forces of the mass of the people; it is the case of a river which may be made navigable and useful by bringing into it the water of brooks and little rivers which by themselves are of no importance. In Servia it may be said that it is the artisans themselves who have abandoned the idea of associating themselves as producers. Nevertheless, they still appear to interest themselves with the question as to how they may benefit each other by associating themselves for the purchase of tools and necessary materials. But as this is a limited field, because the number of artisans is very small, it appears certain that this question will sooner or later disappear without having obtained a favourable solution. It is true that such an institution has existed for the carpenters, but after two or three years the co-operative form was abandoned in favour of a limited company, which works for gain, quite contrary to the principles of co-operative societies, according to which the members are considered, not as capitalists, but as consumers. Side by side with these artisan associations the idea of co-operative associations for supply sprang into being, although at first in a fairly indefinite form. There was even a time when it was thought that the consumers should be forced to combine, and that the communes should place themselves at the head of the movement and work towards that end. About 1870 a co-operative supply association came into being, which, however, miserably failed after two or three years' existence. Ten years later a second was started, with the same result. About 1890 two or three societies of the same nature were created, but with no better success. Three years ago a co-operative society of supply was founded in Belgrade on the principle of Rochdale, and to-day it possesses two shops and meets with fair success.

There exist in the towns of Servia to-day some hundred credit institutions, which adopt very readily the name of Zadruga (co-operative), but in reality they do business with everybody, and their object is to secure the highest possible dividend. The first of these 'co-operatives' was founded in 1882 at Belgrade, and is considered to-day as the most important amongst them all. But there is nothing which resembles such associations as 'Schultze-Delitz Vorschussvereine' or the 'Banche Popolari de Luzzati.' They are only capitalist institutions lending money at interest in order to draw the greatest profit possible.

The failure of co-operation in the towns makes all the more remarkable the success in the country districts. The family disappears, the Zadruga becomes more and more indefinite, but the Servian peasants have found in the co-operative idea a worthy successor.

Agricultural co-operative societies came much later than the town attempts. The first agricultural co-operative society in Servia was founded in 1894 in the village of Vranovo, not far from Smederevo. Nothing had been prepared by the Government for this, and the society was only founded by mutual agreement, as is usual in the absence of a special law when several people wish to associate themselves, or have the intention of undertaking some business in common. It was only five years later (in 1899), when there already existed 109 such associations, and it was evident that co-operation was bound to take great developments, that a law was made to settle the basis upon which these societies were allowed to be formed and developed.

There exist many sorts of co-operative societies in Servia: agricultural co-operative societies of credit; agricultural co-operative societies for the purchase of necessities; agricultural co-operative societies for the purchase and common use of agricultural machines; co-operative societies for supply; agricultural societies for the preparation of agricultural products (such as milk, grapes, fruit).

The co-operative societies for credit are founded upon the principles of Raiffeisen; they have no other capital save their reserve fund. The members are liable for the obligations of the association. The association covers the territory of a village, or at most that of a rural commune. The members of the society are bound to live an exceptional life. Loans are only granted for productive objects, which must be specified in advance; the employment of the loan is controlled. The Board of Direction receives no salary; only the secretary may receive a small gratuity, but this is rare, the majority fulfilling their duties gratuitously. As there are neither expenses nor special funds, there is no division of profits

made. The association is principally occupied in procuring for the members cheap credit; as a result, all the benefits of the association come to those who make use of that credit. At the end of 1903 there existed 359 associations of this nature, of which 295 issued reports; these 295 associations included 14,139 members, who were divided as follows, according to their occupation: Agriculturalists, 13,258; artisans, 270; doctors, professors, and others, 219; teachers, 233; and priests, 149. There were 14,090 men and 39 women, of whom 7,475 could read and write, and 6,664 were illiterate. In 1903 the monetary transactions reached the sum of 3,542,077 francs; in 1902 the sum was 2,907,411 francs. In the former year 9,307 loans were made, amounting to 790,815 francs; 7,483 were repaid, which amounted to 626,043; at the end of the year there remained 9,741 loans, representing a value of 716,111 francs. Of this number there were only 91 loans of a value of 5,162 francs, which were not in order—that is to say, which had passed the time of repayment. The loans made in 1903 were distributed as follows: The purchase of beasts of burden, 2,147 loans, 231,044 francs; animals, 1,596 loans, 132,830 francs; agricultural implements, 541 loans, 35,427 francs; grain for sewing, 290 loans, 12,027 francs; forage, 1,709 loans, 116,770 francs; development of land, 372 loans, 31,343 francs; planting of vines and fruit-trees, 334 loans, 24,268 francs; construction and repair of buildings, 539 loans, 52,645 francs; purchase of land, 264 loans, 26,362 francs; payment of debts, 551 loans, 59,905 francs; payment of taxes, 589 loans, 37,142 francs; medicines and other necessities, 375 loans, 31,047 francs.

Each association, also, possesses its savings banks, for adults as well as for children. Adults may deposit up to 2,000 francs on each book, and the children make deposits of five centimes on special cards of one franc. For the members of the society there exists a special branch known as the Permanent Savings Bank, which is composed as follows: Each member deposits one franc per month during five years. At the end of this time the money deposited is returned with interest, but most frequently it remains in the co-operative society. If the money is returned, the members recommence their deposits for a new period of five years. In case of death the money is paid to the heirs at the end of the same year. If the member changes his place of residence, or if he ceases to be a member of the co-operative society, the money is paid to him the same year. At the end of 1903 these 295 co-operative agricultural associations of credit possessed 187,951 francs of permanent investment, and 203,648 francs of ordinary investment and children's investments, making a total of 391,599 francs. But the associations cannot always supply the requests for

money, and, despite the fact that in addition to the funds placed out at interest they had 56,976 francs of reserve funds, it was necessary for them to make special loans. These loans are made at the Central Caisse of agricultural co-operative societies, which includes all such societies in Servia. In 1903 the sum of 201,312 francs was borrowed from this institution at 5 per cent., the local association lending the money at 7 per cent. In 1903 the co-operative societies obtained a profit of 87,955 francs, while their expenses amounted to 83,944 francs.

The agricultural co-operative societies for the purchase of necessary materials, as well as all the others, are founded upon the general principles of associations—that is to say, they are created for the benefit of the members with the object of procuring them purchases at a low price; they have no resemblance to the Raiffeisen or Schulze-Delitz system. Nearly all the associations for credit also interest themselves in these affairs, and as the statistics include both, it is better to give the total figures, without considering whether they belong to private co-operative societies or to co-operative societies for credit. These societies bought in 1903 beasts of burden valued at 231,044 francs; other animals, 132,830 francs; agricultural machines, 55,427 francs; grain of the best quality, 12,027 francs; forage, 116,770 francs; sulphate of copper, 18,122 francs; iron wire, 877 francs; various goods, 2,712 francs; in all, a total of 549,813 francs, as compared to an outlay in 1902 of 368,158 francs.

The agricultural co-operative societies for the purchase and common use of up-to-date agricultural machinery began to develop about 1896; by the end of 1903 there were as many as 122. The members do not pay any money, but are directly responsible for the liabilities of the association. In virtue of this guarantee the society receives on credit from the Central Caisse of the Agricultural Co-operative Societies the necessary machines, and places them at the disposal of the members in return for a tax fixed by the society. This tax is paid in kind, and the receipts at the end of the year are divided in the proportion of three-quarters for the repayment of the debt of the society, and one-quarter as a reserve fund for the repairs of the machines. In this way the poorest peasant is able to benefit by all the most recent agricultural machinery by paying a very small tax. This has contributed very much to the purchase of large agricultural machines, and has been of great assistance to the agriculture of the country. The societies possess their sowing-machine, their reaping-machine, threshing-machine, etc., representing a value of more than 300,000 francs. In seven or eight years the societies

have reduced their debt to 66,763 francs, without taking into account the new machines bought and the reserve fund of 7,801 francs. This result has been achieved without cash payment, thanks to the wise organization of credit.

Co-operative societies for supply have existed for four years in the villages. At the end of 1903 there were 49 such. During that year they bought various provisions at a value of 62,776 francs. These societies are only in their early days, and suffer much from competition with wholesale and retail merchants. It is to be hoped that soon they will play a greater rôle for the consolidation of the consumers of the country, and that they will also contribute to the development of modern domestic industries upon the basis of co-operation. Much work is being done in this direction in awakening on the one side the interest of the consumer, and on the other by increasing the number and importance of the co-operative societies for supply. It is therefore to be hoped that in the future they will afford a solid foundation for the creation of modern industries in the country. These societies are constructed on the principle of Rochdale : they do not furnish provisions save to their members, there is no credit, and all provisions are paid for in cash. The prices are the same as in the market, only at the end of the year the profits realized are distributed amongst the members in proportion to their purchases. Co-operative cellars and co-operative dairies exist in Servia to the number of two and seven respectively. One of these latter sells milk at Belgrade, and the others produce butter and cheese. As all these societies are of recent foundation it is unnecessary to discuss the results obtained. Nevertheless, every agriculturalist may well expect serious progress in this direction, since Servia is a country essentially fitted for the cultivation of fruit-trees and for the raising of cattle. The Government statistics, although not too exact, nevertheless show the marked increase of these two items of national economy, and as a result a reduction of the area of land devoted to the culture of cereals. Attempts for co-operative sale have been made on a small scale for butter, eggs, honey, lentils, etc., with satisfying results.

The Servian people have been accustomed from the time whence they lived in tribes to undertake certain large works in common. This mutual assistance is known by the name of 'Moba' when human forces are principally employed, and by that of 'Sprega' when it is a question of animals. When an agriculturalist with the resources at his disposal (his wife, his children, and himself) cannot finish the harvest in time, his neighbours come to his assistance. It is the same when, with his own cattle, he is not able to plough his field cart or his harvest; his neighbours come with their beasts and their carts and help

him. It is understood that he in his turn will assist his neighbours in a similar case. Whoever should fail in this respect would be ostracized by the entire village, because such derelictions from the usages and from the national tradition are judged much more severely than any other crime. In the present-day operative societies these old customs are minutely observed. The members consider it a duty to reply to the requests and to the appeals of their comrades when these have need of assistance. It is with the assistance of their neighbours that the members plough, sow, reap, thresh, and cart wheat, dig wells in the villages, and even construct houses. This peculiarity plays a great rôle in the co-operative movement in Servia, even although modern co-operation demands other means than those at the disposal of the Servian peasant.

About thirty of these co-operative societies own co-operative granaries. The object is to come to the assistance of agriculturalists who have been deprived by a bad year of means of livelihood or of grain for sowing. It is evident that everyone must repay later that which has been advanced to him, adding even a little for the service. However, if the time of the succeeding harvest arrive without there having been need of distributing the stored grain, the society sells it and distributes the result among the members, after deducting the expenses, which are extremely small. This method of participation is very advantageous to the peasants, because it is more easy for them to pay in kind than in money. Perhaps in time these small institutions will develop more and more, and will become real co-operative centres for grain ; but for that it is necessary that the Government should interest itself, and, following the example of Germany and Austria, should construct the necessary buildings near to the railways and to the Rivers Save and Danube. At present the number of members participating in the granaries is very limited, scarcely reaching the number of a thousand, and their deposits not exceeding 150,000 kilogrammes in the best years. About twenty agricultural societies possess a fund for the assistance of their members in case of sickness or of death, resembling in this the societies of mutual benefit. About 1,500 members participate in this, but the total of the fund only reaches some thousands of francs. There exists also a law on the societies of mutual benefit, in consequence of which 150 societies were founded, principally in the towns.

Further, each agricultural co-operative society has its tribunal, that the people have called for a long time the 'Conseil des Prud'hommes,' which arranges all conflicts between members. The conflicts between the societies are adjusted by the Administrative Council of the General Union.

Conflicts between the societies and the General Union, if such happen, come before the Congress of the Society, which decides finally. The Conseil des Prud'hommes is composed of three members, one elected by each of the two disputing parties, and the third by the two members thus chosen. If they cannot agree upon the choice of the third, this latter is nominated by the president of the society. If the dispute happens to be between the president and any member, the third member of the Council shall be nominated by the president of the Council of Surveillance. The Conseil des Prud'hommes thus elected chooses one of the three members as president, and gives its judgment according to its beliefs. The decisions are without appeal. In 1902, in forty agricultural societies. 103 cases have thus been brought to a conclusion by this Council; in 1903, in twenty-seven societies, it concluded 61 cases. These cases generally deal with roads, with neighbouring lands, and with damage caused by beasts, etc. Since the majority of the serious cases in the villages arise from small quarrels, the importance of such an institution cannot be overestimated, since it arranges everything on a friendly basis, saving time, and, above all, economizing expense.

There remain to be mentioned the central institutions—the General Union and the Central Caisse of the Agricultural Co-operative Societies of Servia, which form, together with the agricultural co-operative societies, all the co-operative organization. The Central Caisse of the Agricultural Co-operative Societies was founded at the end of 1899. It is founded by shares. Each agricultural co-operative society in Servia, and the district unions, as well as the honorary members and correspondents of the General Union, may become members. Each member must take at least one share, of which the price is 100 francs, payable in five years—20 francs annually. Nobody may take more than one hundred shares. Each member is liable for the liabilities of the society for ten times the value of his shares. There is no distribution of profits; there is only distributed each year upon the holdings of the members an interest determined by the general meeting. The net profit is paid into the reserve fund, which cannot be divided. The society has an Administrative Council and a Council of Surveillance, chosen by the general meeting for five years. The employés are chosen by the Administrative Council. A general meeting is called each year, and each member has only one vote. This does not at all depend upon the number of his shares. At the end of 1903 there were 315 members, having 622 shares. The total expenses were 53,431 francs.

The Central Co-operative Caisse has as its objects: To make

loans to agricultural co-operative societies; to supply them with agricultural machines, grain for sowing, cattle, raw materials for manufacture, etc., and with articles of consumption, such as salt, petroleum, oil, etc.; to sell for the benefit of its members the agricultural products and products manufactured by themselves; to take charge of, at interest, the savings of its members, as well as those of non-members.

The society works with its own money; but since its capital is too small, the Government also assists it. According to the Law of 1897, the Government is obliged to give to the Central Caisse of the Agricultural Co-operative Societies a quarter of the profits of the *loterie à classe*, and according to a Law of 1899, the Public Treasury pays annually a sum of 50,000 francs to this Caisse. The same law also specifies the uses of this sum. Should the Central Co-operative Caisse disappear, the money must be returned to the donors. The Caisse has received up to the present a sum of 700,000 francs, of which five-sixths came from the lottery and one-sixth from the Treasury. The Central Caisse of the Agricultural Co-operative Societies lends annually 400,000 francs; buys 70,000 to 80,000 francs' worth of agricultural machines, 50,000 francs' worth of grain, sulphate of copper, etc., for the co-operative societies, which has had as a result the reduction of the price of almost all these articles. Thus a small cart which used to cost 72 francs in Belgrade costs now 50 francs; a Dutch reaper used to cost about 800 francs, and now the Central Caisse obtains it directly from Holland for 550 francs, delivered in Belgrade. The same is true of all the other agricultural machines bought by the Central Caisse.

All the agricultural co-operative societies, the departmental unions, and the Central Caisse, form the General Union of the agricultural co-operative societies, which has for its object the moral representation of all the co-operative societies, the defence of their interests, the creation of new societies, and the direction and control of those which already exist. The control and the instructions necessary are given to the societies and to the members by the General Union, first by means of its magazine, *Rural Co-operation*, appearing twice monthly, then by means of its inspectors, and, finally, by lectures, given up to the present in forty-five places in Servia. For the revision and the inspection of the societies the General Union employs three inspectors, who inspect about 300 societies yearly. The number of inspectors has been increased to five, which will allow of the examination of the affairs of all the societies at least once a year. It must not be forgotten that there exist in Servia more than 500 agricultural co-operative societies, and about 250 branches. The expenses of ad-

ministration of the General Union are covered by payments from the agricultural co-operative societies. According to a decision of the Congress, each society pays annually in this way 15 per cent. of its profits. Also there are some revenues from subscriptions to the co-operative mazagine advertisements ; and if all these sources do not produce a sufficient sum, the Central Caisse pays the difference out of its profits. An Administrative Council, composed of eight members, is at the head of the General Union. These are elected by the Congress for five years, and chosen amongst the honòrary members or correspondents who live in Belgrade.

The Congress is called together each year in a different place. Up to the present there have been nine. The report, the speeches, and the resolutions are published in a special volume. Nine such volumes, dealing with the work done at each Congress, have appeared, and the tenth is in preparation. Whoever interests himself in agricultural questions will find in these books much interesting material. It is not too much to say that all questions touching upon agriculture have been discussed in these Congresses.

CHAPTER XVIII

MINES AND MINERALS

By DR. DIM. J. ANTULA
Director of the Mining Department

THE working of the mineral resources of Servia dates from the most ancient times. To judge from the archæological remains found in the old mercury mines of Avala, near Belgrade, it would seem that these have been worked from as far back as the Neolithic Age. There are many traces to be found of Roman workings and débris heaps, which testify to a large development of the mining industry in Servia in ancient times. Thus, at Kucajma, in the department of Pojarevats, there have been discovered a great number of shafts which descended to 80 metres below the surface of the valley. In the north-east of the country, and especially in the basins of the Pek and the Porecka, many remains are found which show what large dimensions the ancient installations for the washing of gold in the alluvial sand of the river must have obtained. The numerous ruins, coins, tools, and other objects which have been found in great quantities, and especially complete series of remains of ancient prospects and galleries in the andesitic massif of the Timok, and in the mountains of Kopaonik and Rudnik, show conclusively that in the Roman times much work was done in these regions for the working of the mineral deposits. After the fall of the Roman Empire the mining industry disappeared, according to history, and was only restored in the 13th century, at the time of the Nemanya. It was especially at the opening of the 14th century that the industry attained a great development. The mines were the principal source of wealth of the ancient Servian State of the Middle Ages. With the Turkish invasion the mining industry in Servia, as also in the neighbouring countries, began to diminish rapidly. Only the iron industry on a very small scale was continued in one or two places of the meridional region (Kopaonik, Plassina). During the Austrian occupation in 1718 the mining work recommenced, after an interruption of three hundred

years, but came to an end again in 1738. With the restoration of the actual Servian State at the commencement of the 19th century mining works were recommenced at many points. They have not yet reached the development which they formerly had, but there is every reason to hope for a prosperous future for the mining industry, both because of the variety of the mineral deposits, the numerous facilities allowed by the Mining Law, and especially the keen interest that has been awakened recently by the favourable results obtained by the prospecting work among the copper, gold, and coal deposits.

Until a few years ago all that was known about gold in Servia was that secondary formations existed in the diluvial and alluvial deposits of the Timok, of the Pek, and of almost all their tributaries. Primary gold formations were only recognized quite recently. Very satisfactory results have been given by the prospects, extending over a limited period, and conducted with very primitive means. It has been possible to distinguish three very different types leading to these primary formations.

1. *Gold in Quartz Veins in Crystalline and Granitic Ground.*—Such formation has been found in the crystalline massif of the department of Kraina, and work has been begun at various places, especially between Neresnitsa and Maidanpek. There exist two mining concessions in this region, besides several prospecting rights. One concession was given to the Servian Dredging and Mining Syndicate, Limited, in Neresnitsa, in 1903, extending over 7,500 hectares, and the other to M. Georges Weifert and Felix Hofmann at Blagoyenkamen, in 1902 (the St. Barbe concession), covering 410 hectares. All other works which have been undertaken are so far of a prospecting nature. They have established the existence of numerous quartz veins impregnated with minerals, which follow the direction of the meridian. These veins contain sulphates of lead, copper, iron, and zinc in varying quantities. Analyses show that all these sulphates are more or less auriferous. It is noteworthy that these auriferous minerals appear to contain more gold in proportion as they contain more galena. Quartz veins with auriferous sulphates have been found near Ram, on the Danube, near Bela Palanka, in the massif of Krajina, and near Stanitchinci, at the foot of the north slope of Kopaonik. In the crystalline schists at Vratarnitsa, near Zayetchar, similar auriferous quartz veins are also found. Auriferous copper deposits are to be found in the granite formation of the districts of Tanda, Crnajka, and Isvor.

2. *Gold in Quartz Veins occurring in Serpentine and Gabbros Rocks.*—Gold formations in serpentine rocks are only known in the region of Deli-Yovan, where are found remains of

ancient workings, chiefly upon the western slopes. The most important of these workings is that of Rusman-Gindusa, which has a length of 8 kilometres. Several parallel veins have been discovered in this ground. According to the prospecting done, these deposits maintain their general direction from north to south, but in certain parts, as in the galleries of Gindusa, they spread into a great number of small veins, so that in these workings the gold deposit gives rather the impression of metalliferous veins in the gabbro, which is itself very often strongly impregnated with auriferous pyrites. It is nevertheless necessary to note that the workings at Rusman have shown the continuation of a very well-defined cross-vein for a length of 300 metres, and it has been fixed that this vein descends at least to 35 metres below the ancient workings. In 1901 a concession was granted on this field extending to 2,500 hectares. The concessionaire has constructed at Rusman an experimental battery of ten stamps for the treatment and concentration of auriferous pyrites. The yield of gold in the ore is approximately 9·6 dwts. to the ton.

3. *Auriferous Formation in Trachytic Ground.*—The presence of gold in the trachytic rocks has been proved by the alluvial washings of the Crna-Reka and its numerous tributaries, which flow almost entirely through the andesitic massif of the Timok. Besides this, gold is found in washing the mineral débris coming from the ancient workings in the villages of Bor, Brestovatchka Banja, Zlot, etc. It is interesting to note that gold, or, rather, traces of gold, have been found in the andesitic rocks themselves, which are more or less heavily impregnated with pyrites. This shows that the andesitic massif of the Timok contains gold deposits whose nature recalls very much the gold deposits of Hungary, but of which it has not yet been possible to ascertain the importance. The extent of the ancient workings in this eruptive massif, however, shows that it would be worth while to make more detailed prospects. In the west there have recently been found quartz veins in the argil-schists and in the oldest phyllades. It would therefore not be at all surprising if future research brings to light auriferous deposits similar to those of Bosnia.

Secondary auriferous deposits have been discovered in the alluvials of the Pek and its tributaries, in the valley of the Mlava, in the basins of the Poretchka and the Timok, and in the valleys of the Plavnitsa and of the Jassenitsa, in Eastern Servia. There have also recently been discovered auriferous alluvials in Southern Servia, at the base of Kopaonik, at Stanitchinci, Poppina, etc. With regard to these auriferous alluvials, it may be said that while gold has been found by washing, no systematic research has been made save in the

valley of the Pek, on the concession of the Servian Dredging and Mining Syndicate, and in the valley of the Bela Reka, upon the prospecting concession of M. Weifert. Investigations of the alluvials in the valley of Pek show that these contain a workable quantity of gold; on an average one franc's worth of gold is found in each cubic metre of sand. The gold is found to a depth of 5 to 6 metres, which is very suitable for washing. In the valley of the Pek the area which has been investigated will suffice for working during twenty-five years by four dredges, which treat about 3,000 cubic metres of sand per day. According to the available information, the Servian Dredging Syndicate had already two dredgers working at the beginning of 1905, which had produced 92 kilogrammes of gold. During that year two more modern dredgers arrived and began work. The cost of the extraction of the gold has been reduced to 30 centimes per cubic metre, and it may therefore be concluded that these workings will give satisfactory results. The prospects made in the valley of the Bela Reka have also shown that the alluvials of this river contain a very considerable quantity of gold. Here also the gold is found to a depth suitable for dredging, and is found over a sufficient area. Dredgers suitable for the washing of gold were also set to work in 1905 in this valley. In view of the very considerable extent of auriferous alluvials, and of the importance of the old working, which existed for the object of washing gold in the North-East of Servia, the Government began in 1905 surveys and investigations in the river alluvials of the basins of the Poretchka and the Timok.

There exist very considerable mercury deposits in Servia. Cinnabar is found at Avala, near Belgrade, and in the villages of Brajici, Bar, and Donja Treshnica. The mercury deposits at Avala were the first to attract attention. During a certain period work was carried on with considerable success, but later all the work was abandoned, owing to the lack of sufficient capital to continue the researches. The mercury ore, together with metallic mercury, baryte, and pyrites, are found at Avala in a porous quartz which is found in the serpentines of this mountain both in irregular masses and in extensive veins. During the period from 1885 to 1891 7,796 tons of mercury ore were treated, containing on an average 1·416 per cent. of mercury, which produced 79·823 kilogrammes of mercury. The other mercury deposits have not yet been seriously studied. We must, however, mention that at Koprivnitsa, in the department of Krajina, pure cinnabar, in various-sized grains, has been found in washing alluvial deposits of the small River Kortar, but the primary deposit has not yet been discovered.

Lead deposits are very frequently found throughout the country, and some of these deposits contain also a certain quantity of silver and gold. They are generally found in the mesozoic calcaires, and especially the eruptive trachytic rocks of recent date, or in irregular masses found in the fissures of the calcaires. But their origin always depends upon the eruptive rock in the vicinity. Deposits of lead ore have also been found in the old workings at the contact of micro-granulites with phyllades of the higher series of the crystalline schist. Lead-bearing ores are to be found practically everywhere in Servia, but there are several important centres, which we will study separately. These are those of Podrinje, Avala, Kosmaj, Rudnik, Kopaonik, Ruplje, and Kucajna.

At Podrinje the lead ores have been worked continually for centuries. In many places lead deposits and places of ancient workings exist, but only a few of the deposits seem likely to be worthy of systematic working, according to the investigation made by the Servian Government. The deposits of Podrinje are worked by the State. The centre of these workings is the mountain of Krupanj, lying 63 kilometres from the landing-stage at Shabats, on the Save. Works have been erected for smelting lead and antimony. It is in these works that the lead ore from Postenje is also treated, and where all the lead and antimony ore of the surrounding region will be smelted (such are the lead ores of Zavlaka and the antimony ores of Kostajinikand Zayetchar). The most important deposits are Postenje, at a distance of 15 kilometres from Krupanj. The leadiferous ore is found in the calcaire, near the serpentine massifs, in a vein varying in width from a few centimetres to 2 metres. Occasionally large cavities occur, often filled with very rich ore. The ore is composed of lead carbonate, with some remains of primordial galena. The ore is very easily smelted, and gives an average of 55 to 65 per cent. of lead. There are also important deposits at Selanats, not far from the Drina. Here some veins of mixed minerals (galena, chalcopyrite, blende, iron pyrite, in quartz and in calcite) are found beside the andesitic rocks and in the crystallophyllin schists. The ore contains, in addition to lead and zinc, from 0·02 to 0·237 per cent. of silver in the pure lead. There are also at Podrinje a great number of places where similar mixed sulphate deposits have been found, but the value of these has not been determined. From 1874 to 1900 work has been carried on, with few interruptions, due to the sums available in the state budget, and in all 1,548 tons of lead have been extracted.

At Avala there are found many traces of Roman workings, and others of more recent date. Ruins, galleries, shafts, and débris prove the importance of the old workings upon the

mountain and its slopes. Lead ore has been found at Ljuta Strana, in the Valley of Tapavac, 7 kilometres from the station of Ripanj. A concession of 480 hectares was given here to a M. Odenthal in 1903. Veins have been found at the contact of cretacic calcaire and rhyolites; these veins have been followed to a depth of 120 metres below the lowest gallery. The composition of the veins is mixed, being composed principally of galena, allied with blende, pyrite, and calcopyrite. Silver-lead deposits are also found in similar geological formations at Zuce and on the Crveni Breg, near Avala. At this latter place the French company Société des Valeurs Industrielles et Minières obtained a concession of 400 hectares in 1901. Several veins of rhyolites well defined are to be seen, and these have a general direction from east to west. They are plainly indicated by the ancient workings, and it is not rare to be able to follow veins over a considerable area by the outcrops. The deposits themselves are closely related to these rhyolitic veins, being found either in them or at their point of contact with schists and calcaires. The composition of these metallic veins resembles closely the ore of Ljuta Strana, but with a greater proportion of silver, amounting to from 0·183 to 0·4308 per cent. It is necessary to remark that quite a chain of similar deposits leads from Avala towards the south via Kosmaj, Rudnik, and the valley of the Ibir to Kopaonik.

At Rudnik there is a mining-field well known in ancient times, and where copper, lead, silver, and gold were extracted. This is proved by the many remains left of the old workings. The mixed sulphate ores predominate at Rudnik, which are found at the contact of the microgranulites with the cretacic calcaires and grès. Two concessions amounting to 4,530 hectares were given in 1894 to M. Mihailovitch, a former Director of the Mining Section. The work done has established important mixed deposits, and more detailed experiments have been undertaken with regard to the concentration of the ore.

The mountain of Kopaonik and its mountainous district near the southern frontier of Servia abound in mineral deposits, but these have not been very closely studied. Lead deposits and old workings have been found in many localities. Quartz veins are usually found filled with galena and other sulphates in the old schists or in the calcaire near the trachytic rocks. According to the analyses which have been made, the majority of the galenas are remarkable for a large quantity of silver.

In the district of the village of Ruplje there are found veins at the contact of the microgranulites and the mica-schists. Generally these contain galena, but sometimes blende and pyrites predominate. These ores contain a large percentage of silver, although this is variable. It may, however, be estimated

at from 0·3 to 0·4 per cent. in the lead. A concession of 800 hectares (Djurina Sreca) has been granted to M. Weifert and to the French Société Industrielle et Metallurgique.

The workings of the lead deposits of Kucajna go back to a very distant past. The old miners apparently knew how to work the rich lead ore and leave the poor ore containing much pyrite and blende. They also ignored all the galena, which was worked by the owner of the mines from 1864 to 1892. The mining-field extends to about 4 square kilometres. The deposits occur very rarely in regular veins, but generally in lenticular masses in fissures of different forms and directions. These fissures filled with ore are generally found at the contact of the cretacic calcaire and the andesitic quartz, or between the calcaires and a tufaceous brache, or even in the calcaires themselves. With regard to the composition of these ores, the lead, iron, and zinc sulphates predominate, as well as the products of their decomposition—cerussite, limonite, and galmei. It is remarkable that gold and silver are contained in the ore in great proportions. From the results of the smelting work, it is seen that 1,081 tons of mineral ore were treated in eight years, which produced 265 tons of lead, 62·5 kilogrammes of gold, and 1,092 kilogrammes of silver. The quantity of gold varied very much—from 6 to 650 grammes per ton of ore; with relation to the quantity of ore treated, the average of gold amounted to 57 grammes per ton of ore. The average per centage of silver was 0·112, or 455 grammes per 100 kilogrammes of lead. It may be said that, compared with other lead ores in Servia, those of Kucajna are the richest in gold and silver, and this wealth increases in proportion as the ore contains more pyrites and blendes. These deposits of 160 hectares were granted in 1862 to M. Hofmann.

Zinc ores are usually found in connection with galena, pyrite, and calcopyrite in many primary deposits, of which the most noted are those of Kucajna, Zavlaka, and the mountains of Rudnik. The galmei deposits of Kucajna have the nature of decomposed deposits. The galmei fills fissures of various forms and directions; it is also found in the form of incrustations on the decomposed surface of metallic sulphates. The galmei is often pure, and contains from 50 to 55 per cent. of zinc, and is usually found in masses, in grains, and together with limonite. During three years from 1891, 291 tons of zinc ore were treated here, with a yield of 121 tons of zinc, which gives an average percentage of zinc of 41·5 in the ore. These zinc deposits were granted in 1862 to M. Hofmann.

Zinc ore is found in many parts of the mountains of Rudnik, occurring together with lead deposits. These generally take the form of metal sulphates containing 10 to 30 per cent. of

zinc. Similar deposits of zinc are also found in many places between the villages of Zavlaka and Srpulja in the form of irregular masses, in the triassic calcaire, and in proximity to outcrops of trachyte. The proportion of zinc varies from 24 to 56 per cent. It is interesting to notice that cinnabar in the form of thin incrustations is found together with the galmei ore of Zavlaka.

Copper deposits are found in Servia, especially beside serpentines, in the shape of lenticular masses of calcopyrite and iron pyrite, together with mineral oxides. Copper deposits are also often found in association with other minerals in the trachytic rocks, or at the contact of these rocks with the calcaire or with the crystalline schist. They also occur in the red grès in the form of copper impregnation. We will now deal with the mines being worked and the deposits which are workable. Copper ore is found in the whole of the serpentine massif forming the mountains of Suvobor, Maljen, Bukovi, and part of the northern base of Povlen, in the department of Valjevo. These generally occur at the periphery of the serpentine massif beside cretacic calcaires. There is also a series of copper deposits to the north-east of Povlen. Two of these deposits have been opened up, at Rebelj, and on the Vis Mountain in the village of Brezovitsa. To the south-east of these deposits, in similar conditions, there are another two near the village of Radanovci. All these deposits have the form of lenticular masses, but because of their constant direction from the south-east to the north-west they present many of the characteristics of veins. They contain sulphates and oxides of minerals with a varying proportion of copper. At the mine of Rebelj, in 1903, 3,820 tons of copper ore were treated and 151 tons of black copper obtained—that is to say, 3·5 per cent. of copper. Similar copper deposits have been found in neighbouring villages, but have not been worked. In the calcaire at its contact with the serpentine irregular masses of cuprite and of chalsoine have been found in the village of Planinitsa, and there are often masses of native copper weighing from 100 to 150 kilogrammes. All the work which has been done as yet is in the nature of research, although the analysis of the various specimens has shown that they contain a very good average of copper. On the high land of the department of Tchatchak there appear copper ores in the serpentine rocks, and here are found many ancient workings and old heaps of débris. To the east of Kniajevats there occur in the gabbro rocks veins of quartz with calcopyrite, iron pyrite, and bismuth, which give favourable results from analysis. The mineral area of Majdanpek is marked by the outcrops of andesite, and by chapeaux de fer. It stretches from north to south for more

than 4 kilometres, and its greatest width is about 600 metres. The deposits appear in the form of irregular masses and broken veins, and also in the form of impregnations, which occur at the contact of the andesite with the calcaires and the crystalline schists, or in the andesite itself, transformed by propylitization. The numerous ancient galleries and masses of débris show to what an extent the ancient workings of Majdanpek extended. It was certainly worked in the time of the Romans, and especially in the time of the medieval Servian State before the Turkish invasion. Documents which are in the archives of the mines of Oravitsa show that the work in the mines of Majdanpek commenced again during the Austrian occupation, that the production of copper was very considerable at that time, and that the ore contained an average of 8 to 10 per cent. of copper. Many authorities who later studied the deposits came to the conclusion that they possessed great importance; in fact, soon after the establishment of the Servian State, the development (1850 to 1860) on a large scale of the iron and copper industry at Majdanpek began. Much money was spent, and at this time Majdanpek was recognized to be the best-organized mine of the East of Europe. Owing, however, to an interruption in the production of iron, the State was discouraged, and disposed of the deposits to private individuals. To-day the iron industry is completely abandoned, only the copper ore being worked. At Majdanpek are found ores of copper and iron sulphates and oxides, together with a small amount of zinc and lead sulphates. The calcopyrites are usually to be found together with iron pyrites and magnetic iron. There are often to be found great masses of iron pyrites, near which are situated masses of coveline containing a great percentage of copper. The decomposition of the primary deposits has produced numerous copper and iron oxide ores. It is in this way, also, that the important limonite deposits which were utilized for a long time for the production of iron were formed. The transformed and oxidized ore contains generally more copper than the unchanged sulphates. This is the reason why many of the deposits of iron pyrites have been abandoned, since they contain only from 0·3 to 0·5 per cent. of copper, whereas in the oxide deposits there are from 6 to 12 per cent. The Majdanpek mines, covering 16,000 hectares, were leased in 1902 to a Belgian limited company. From 1870 until the end of 1903 upwards of 115,000 tons of ore have been treated, giving 4,350 tons of copper; the average proportion of copper in the ore is therefore 3·78 per cent. The black copper, when refined at Brixlegg in 1901, gave 94·10 per cent. of copper, 48·6 per cent. of iron, and 10 grammes of gold, and 270 grammes of silver per ton of copper. An analysis of the black copper in

1904 gave the following: Copper, 96·4 per cent.; iron, 2·10 per cent.; sulphur, 0·67 per cent.; zinc, 0·53 per cent.; silver, 411 grammes per 1,000 kilogrammes; gold, 39 grammes per 1,000 kilogrammes.

There are numerous quartz veins of auriferous calcopyrites in the granite massif of the department of Krajina, near the villages of Tanda and Luka. Copper ore occurs in the form of isolated masses in the calcaire to the east of Golubats, on the mountain of Ridanj, which is undoubtedly a continuation of the mining region of the Banat, and also extends far towards the south to Vukan, where there are to be found great mounds of débris, as well as outcrops of copper ore. The copper deposits of Bor and Krivelj, in the department of the Timok, occur in connection with the andesitic rock. Here there are also ancient workings, which have formed the best indication for the study of the various deposits. The ancient galleries and shafts are arranged in a settled direction, and may be grouped into several parallel zones. Their direction is, in general, from north to south, with slight deviations towards the north-west. It may be said that the general direction of the ancient workings, which means the direction of the metallic veins, is parallel with the general direction of the volcanic faults, which may be followed for a distance of 300 kilometres in Servia and the Banat. It is interesting, also, to say that there are always indications in the old workings of this region that the presence of gold had been recognized, and that there had been the washing of gold. It is therefore probable that this deposit only interested the old miners as gold deposits, and that they only washed it in order to extract the gold from the decomposed portions of the deposit, and abandoned the work when they reached the primary ore, which is found at the small depth of 25 to 30 metres. The prospecting work has established five parallel veins, which may be followed to their outcrop, and by means of the ancient working, for a distance of 10 kilometres and a width of 2 kilometres. The most important workings occur in the village of Bor, and had for object the determination of the depth of the deposits. A gallery has been commenced at Bor, 32 metres below the ancient workings, and following their direction through a propylitized mass of andesite. The propylitization is so far advanced that only a quartz skeleton remains of the original rock, in which there often occur cavities with the shape of feldspar and ferromagnesite crystals. The richness of ore in copper is very favourable, and it is interesting to note that of the thirty analyses which were made, taken from each metre of the mass of ore, twenty-six gave 8 to 25·6 per cent. of copper, eleven from 5 to 8 per cent., and only two 3·2 per cent. All the analyses have shown gold from traces to

10 grammes per ton of ore. The visible volume of this mass of ore amounts to 85,130 cubic metres, or 255,390 tons of ore. The mineral lands of Bor are related by their geological conditions and by the period of their origin to the copper deposits of Majdenpek, and also to those of the interior zone of the Carpathians, while they show a certain semblance to those of Nevada and Colorado. On the other hand, the deposits of Bor differ from all these by their mineralization and by their morphological character, which resemble rather the well-known pyritic masses of Europe (Roros, Ramelsberg, and Huelva). The prospecting works, which are continuing without interruption, and the great quantity of ore already discovered, make it certain that there is a very great future for this mine. A concession of 2,400 hectares was given in 1903 to a French company, which is now in active and successful work.

Impregnations of copper ores, malachite and azurite, are found in many parts of the country, but only in small quantities. There are also other outcrops of different kinds of copper ore in various districts, but these have not been carefully studied.

There is little indication that arsenic occurs in great quantities in Servia, although outcrops of realgar have been found in the department of Podrinje, while traces of arsenic have been found in the deposits of mineral sulphates. Antimony, however, is found it great quantities, and the most important deposits have been discovered in Podrinje. At Zayetchar there are two kinds of antimony deposits. The proportion of antimony in these deposits varies greatly, but it must be remarked that the antimony ore of Zayetchar only contains traces of arsenic. A concession for these deposits, extending over 1,660 hectares, was granted to a Serbo-French company in 1898. From 1901 to 1903 this company treated 13,537 tons of ore, containing 12 to 14 per cent. of antimony, with a yield of 1,460 tons of oxide of antimony, which was transformed into 825·5 tons of regulus of antimony. There are also other deposits of antimony in other parts of the country, but these have not been studied.

Nickel ore occurs only in such small quantities as not to be worth working. Chrome exists in the form of chromite on the mountain of Suvobor and near Kraljevo, where it appears in isolated masses in the serpentines. Analysis has shown that the ore, of which several hundreds of tons have been obtained, contained an average of 50 per cent. of chrome oxide. There are also other chrome deposits, but none are worked systematically.

The iron industry has not yet come into existence in Servia, apart from some attempts which have failed, although the

country is rich in iron ore. The studies are on a very small scale, and it is impossible to judge the exact nature of the deposits. The most important deposits are those of magnetic iron found in the crystalline rocks. There are also iron deposits in irregular masses in the serpentine or in conjunction with other minerals beside the eruptive rocks, and isolated deposits in large or small masses or in layers in the sedimentary formation, principally in the cretacic calcaires.

There is no doubt that a considerable amount of manganese ore exists in Servia, generally together with limonites, but these are as yet little known. One of the deposits of the department of Kragujevats is, however, known to contain up to 42 per cent. of manganese, while in various districts nodules filled with manganese ore have been discovered. Natural sulphur is very rare in Servia, and it is never found in masses sufficient for working. Graphite deposits have been discovered in Servia in the form of isolated nodules in the serpentines. Bituminous schists are found in many parts of the country, and many of them deserve to be studied at greater length, because of the quantities of bituminous matter which they contain.

There are four kinds of coalfields to be considered in Servia, according to their geological age—coal of the carboniferous period, liasic and cretacic coal, brown tertiary coal, and tertiary lignite coal. In the carboniferous basin lying between the Save and the Pek there are several beds of coal, but owing to the lack of adequate study it is impossible to say the exact value of these coal-beds, which are, however, composed of old and excellent coal. From the fossil plants found in these coal deposits there can be no doubt that this coal will rank amongst the best qualities, and may be compared with those of Moravia, Upper Silesia, and the basins of the Saare and the Rhine. Of the many deposits of liasic coal, there are several which are being worked. These are the mines of Dobra, lying on the Danube opposite to the Drenkova mines in Hungary. The coal formation extends over a length of 4 kilometres. There are three principal veins, with varying widths of from 1 to 10 metres. Unfortunately there are layers of sandy clay amongst the coal, which make it necessary to wash the coal specially, resulting in a loss of 28 per cent. This mine, covering 1,200 hectares, was leased in 1887 to a company, and from 1900 to 1903 61,491 tons of coal were extracted. Another mine which is being worked is near Zayetchar, the deposits having a length of 10 kilometres. There are several beds, but only one, varying from 2 to 3½ metres in width, which is fit for working. From 1888 to 1904 the total production amounted to 275,059 tons. To the east of the mountain of Rtanj outcrops of coal are found over an area of over 40 kilometres in extent. At Boljevats,

in the department of the Timok, coal-beds 1 to 8 metres in width have been discovered. The coal is of very good quality, and gives 80 per cent. of coke. There are also known coal-beds at Vina and Podvis. In the latter place a coal vein of 2 to 3 metres has been opened, and analysis shows that the coal possesses 7,000 calories.

Coal-beds of the tertiary period are to be found all over Servia, and form isolated basins in the cretacic rocks or on the edges of neogenic basins along the Drina, the Save, the Morava, the Danube, and the Timok. It is remarkable that in these river basins only recent lignites are found, while outside them there is brown coal. The principal mines of this coal are at and near Senje, lying some 22 kilometres from the principal railway-line, with which it is connected by a narrow-gauge railway. Here there is a bed of brown coal from 7 to 8 metres as an average width, and a known length of 900 metres. This mine was opened by the Government in 1889, and in 1897 it was handed over to the railway administration, which now possesses a concession of over 450 hectares. From 1897 to 1904 the production of coal amounted to 522,770 tons, while in the last year the production was nearly 100,000 tons. In the neighbourhood of Senje there has been found a coal-bed of much greater value, since there is a known quantity of coal of over 2,000,000 tons. There are similar coal-beds in all the region surrounding Senje, especially those of Diljo and Cicevats. At Jelasnitsa, near Nish, and at Jarandol, there are also important deposits, the coal at the latter place being among the best in Servia. In the valleys of the Drina and the Save there are few known coal-beds, although there exist in various localities outcrops of lignite. In the valley of the Morava there is much lignite, and this is worked at several places, notably at Kraljevats, by a Belgian company. The valley of the Danube is much richer, and at Kostolats there is a mine of lignite producing about 20,000 tons annually. The valley of the Timok is also rich in lignite, but has not been very seriously studied or exploited.

Servia is remarkable for the wealth and variety of the commercial and industrial stones which are found. There are a great number of kinds of granite, marble, lithographic stone, and millstone, which are in great quantities, and which compare in quality with the best foreign varieties. Largely because of the lack of roads and railways, there is very little done in the working of this source of wealth, but it will inevitably develop with the means of communication. Of special interest for other countries is the great amount of lithographic stone, which in one place covers an area of over 95 hectares, with a depth of 200 metres. There are many places where calcaires occur

suitable for the production of cement, and in Ripanj and Ralja cement factories already exist.

Servia is very rich in mineral springs, and there are numerous thermal springs near ancient volcanoes. Many of these have been used from the earliest times, as is shown by the remains of old buildings. The State possesses the sole right of utilizing the mineral springs, but may grant concessions for this purpose. The majority of the mineral springs are arranged for use as baths. There are six different sorts of mineral springs in the country, and it is interesting to note that the majority of acidulated waters occur near outcrops of lignites in the tertiary soil.

In all matters relating to mines and mining the administrative and judicial authority is vested in the Ministry of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry, which acts through the Service of Mines and the Mining Council. All concessions for mines are granted by the Minister. He also introduces the necessary laws, and awards penalties according to the reports of his special departments. The supreme court of appeal is the Council of State. Concessions are of two kinds—prospecting rights and working rights. The former are divided into simple rights and exclusive rights, and these rights have been granted over an area of 200,000 acres. The concessions granted are comparatively few as yet, and cover about 40,000 acres. The grant of prospecting rights carries with it the ultimate possibility of obtaining a concession if the requisite work is done within the necessary period, if sufficiently rich mineral deposits are located, and if the individual or company applying for the concession can show satisfactory evidence that it possesses the necessary financial means to carry on the undertaking.

Despite the undoubted wealth of Servia in mineral resources, it must be said that the real mining industry has not yet begun, and this although 634,000 francs' worth of mineral products in 1895 had amounted in 1907 to over 3,500,000 francs' worth. This must be attributed in large degree to the unsettled condition of the country, both internally and externally. The most interesting development has undoubtedly been the increase in the production of coal, ten years having seen a production of 1,400 tons of hard coal transformed into one of over 53,000 tons, and 41,000 tons of brown coal becoming 172,000 tons. Nor can it be overlooked that the work on the great copper deposits of Bor promise in the future an enormous increase in the mining industry of Servia. What is needed is foreign capital, intelligently utilized for the working of mineral fields which have been adequately studied and prospected.

CHAPTER XIX

RAILWAYS, ROADS, AND POSTS

By THE MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS

The Railway System.

It must be said at once that the railway development of the country is very much behind the requirements of the people. There are several causes for the small mileage existing to-day, especially important among these being the difficult character of the country and the many internal political and other crises. Now, however, the construction of new railways is in full progress, and there will soon be a more adequate network of lines of communication.

The need of a railway traversing Servia from north to south was acutely felt as early as the year 1864. The Minister of Public Works in that year ordered the execution of the necessary surveys of the country to be traversed by such a railway. The surveys were completed during the course of that year, but no further work was undertaken until the year 1873, when the Minister ordered fresh and more detailed surveys of the line of railway which, leaving Belgrade, should follow the valley of the Morava to the ancient frontier close to Alexinats. The information thus collected served as a basis for the preparation of the final surveys and the detailed scheme of 1875. These were prepared in accordance with the decision of the National Assembly of the 12th of March, 1875, which accorded for that purpose 700,000 francs. The Minister of Public Works was appointed as the director of this important, work and a French engineer, J. Poncin, completed the plans with the assistance of foreign and Servian experts. The events which took place in the Balkan Peninsula in the years 1876 and 1877, involving Servia in the war against Turkey, absolutely prohibited anything being undertaken for the construction of the projected railway, and the still more grave events of the following year were in every way unfavourable to the progress of the country.

By the treaty concluded at Berlin on the 8th of July, 1878, between Servia and Austria-Hungary, Servia undertook to construct railway-lines from Belgrade to the Turkish and Bulgarian frontiers. This obligation was also included in the Treaty of Berlin, 1878. The Servians therefore commenced in the following year the study of the survey for the line, which, leaving Djunis and following the valley of the Morava to Nish, divided there into two branches, of which the one reached the frontier at Ristovats, while the other, passing by the valley of the Nishava, arrived at the Bulgarian frontier at Obrenovits, not far from Tsaribrod. The Minister of Public Works called in M. Augustin, the Adviser for Public Works at Agram, to take charge of the work, and between the months of May and November, 1879, he, with the assistance of foreign and Servian engineers, completed the general scheme and the estimates for the construction of the said lines. The following year, 1880, a convention was entered into between Servia and Austria-Hungary, on the 9th of April (approved by the National Assembly on the 16th of April), dealing with the junction of the railways of the two countries near Belgrade, and regulating the general conditions of railway traffic at the frontier. The regulation of this important question enabled the Servian Government to work toward the realization of her promises and plans for the construction of the railways to the Turkish and Bulgarian frontiers.

The Law of the 23rd of March, 1881, confirmed the General Convention for the construction and exploitation of the first Servian State railway. A convention had been entered into between the Servian State and the Union Générale in Paris, and on the 8th of May of the same year a Railway Section was created by royal decree in the Ministry of Public Works, having supreme authority over the supervision and direction of all construction works. M. Aug. Richter, of Berlin, was placed at the head of this section. The same decree arranged the personnel, both for the internal work of the section and for the inspection to be exercised outside. A considerable number of foreign engineers entered into the body of the personnel, since these possessed greater knowledge than the Servian engineers, the Servian State not possessing at that time a sufficient number of experts accustomed to the construction of railways. The company began at once to make the further necessary detailed studies, based upon the earlier works of 1875 and 1879, and to establish the detailed scheme for the Belgrade-Nish line, upon which considerable work was accomplished during the same year. This line was opened to public traffic on the 3rd of September, 1834, on which day was also opened the junction-line between Semlin and Belgrade,

connecting the railway systems of Servia and Austria-Hungary.

Following the opening of this railway to traffic, it became necessary to regulate more precisely, and to describe, according to the General Convention of 1881, the relations which should exist between the Servian State and the exploiting company. This was done by the contract of the 17th of October, 1884. During the construction of the Belgrade-Nish line, at the beginning of 1882, the Union Générale failed, causing a delay of several months in the work.

The duties of this bank were finally transferred to the Comptoir d'Escompte, at Paris, and the regular course of the work to its completion was assured.

While the Belgrade-Nish line was under construction, the detailed surveys and the elaboration of the scheme for the Nisch-Ristovats line were proceeded with, so that it was possible for this line to be opened for public traffic on the 1st of September, 1886, as far as Vranya, the entire line to Ristovats being completed and opened for traffic on the 6th of May, 1888. The Convention providing for the junction of the Servian State railways with the Turkish railways was only signed on the 4th of June, 1887, and was not approved by the National Assembly before the 30th of January, 1888. The detailed studies and final scheme on the Nish-Pirot-Bulgarian frontier line were commenced in 1885, and the actual construction was commenced in the month of August. The works on this line proceeded so well that it was opened to traffic as far as Pirot on the 1st of November, 1887. A Convention was concluded at Sofia on the 14th of September, 1887, between the two States, which became law on the 30th of January, 1888, arranging for the junction of this line with the Bulgarian railways at the station of Tzaribrod, and regulating in detail all the relations of the frontier traffic. By the opening of this last line to traffic Servia had fulfilled her obligations under the Treaty of Paris, and under the Railway Convention entered into with Austria-Hungary on the 9th of April, 1880. The lines thus constructed had a length of 461 kilometres, and cost 98,672,946 francs, including half the cost of the bridge over the Save near Belgrade. The period up to 1888 may therefore be considered as the most important in railway construction. After that year till a few years ago there was only a very small amount of construction undertaken.

By the General Convention of the 23rd of March, 1881, the working of these lines had been handed over to the exploiting company for a period of twenty-five years. But, from the very commencement, many disagreements and differences arose

between the State and this company concerning the application and the interpretation of the Treaty of the 17th of October, 1884, dealing with the working of the railway. These difficulties increased with time, until finally the contract for the working of the railways was broken in the first half of 1889. On the 21st of May, 1889, the State withdrew the working of the railway-lines from the company, and established from the personnel of the old railway section and from the personnel of the company (several employés passing into the service of the State) a railway administration to direct the working of the lines. The Law of the 31st of March, 1892, upon the organization of the railway administration of the Servian Government, which, with certain amendments and additions, is in force to-day, completely regulated the work of the administration and its relations with the other authorities.

Besides the lines mentioned above, which the company had constructed on behalf of the State by means of the loan issued according to the General Convention, the State also bought back from the company the line from Smederevo to Velika Plana. This line the company had found itself obliged to construct at the beginning of its work in Servia, in order to facilitate the transport of the construction material from the Danube to the interior of the country, and to hasten the completion of the line from Belgrade to Nish. The line from Smederevo to Velika Plana is the shortest road connecting the Danube and the principal line of railway. This line, with a length of 41·90 kilometres, was bought by the State, according to the Convention of the 15th of October, 1885, for the sum of 1,427,590 francs, and opened for public traffic on the 10th of November, 1886.

During the construction of the principal lines, the Servian Government, by a special loan concluded for this object, constructed a line of railway of normal gauge between Lapovo and Kragujevats. This line has a length of 29·2 kilometres, and the total cost was 2,070,535 francs. It was opened to traffic on the 3rd of March, 1887.

By a decision of the Cabinet of the 28th of October, 1896, a line was constructed connecting the slaughter-houses with the principal station of Belgrade. This was constructed at the expense of the State, and opened to traffic on the 1st of March, 1889. This line has a length of 7·086 kilometres, and cost 1,024,404 francs. It is also of normal gauge.

Besides these lines, which are all of the normal gauge, the State has also constructed the following railways of a gauge varying from 75 centimetres to 76 centimetres. By the Law of the 16th of March, 1890, and that of the 7th of August, 1893, a line of 75 centimetres gauge was constructed in the years

1891 and 1892 between the station of Donja Cuprija and the coal-mines of Senje, belonging to the State Railway Administration. The length of this line is 21·889 kilometres, and up to the end of 1900 it had cost 1,499,447 francs. This line is not used for public traffic, but was made exclusively for the needs of the working of the mine of Senje, of which the brown coal is used by the Servian State railways to-day to the exclusion of all other. In order to assist the development of the mine at Senje, and in conformity with the authorization of the Minister of Public Works (8th of October, 1901), this line is to be extended for a distance of 11 kilometres in order to reach the Ravna River (Ravnareka), in the basin of the Ressava. The country traversed presents great difficulties, and it is possible that this railway will be very expensive to construct.

The Railway Administration has also constructed another line of 75 centimetres gauge for the working of its forest domain at Bukovik and Razanj, near Cicevats. The Administration works these forests in order to procure beech sleepers, needed on all its lines. As a consequence of this the line has only a provisional character, because it is destined to disappear as soon as the forest shall have been cut down. This line, which goes from Cicevats to Svetipetar (St. Peter), was constructed in 1900 on the authorization of the Minister of Public Works; it has an actual length of 17·30 kilometres, and cost, including the buildings, 288,922 francs. This line has been lengthened at various times in order to penetrate deeper into the forest.

This was the condition of the railway system as taken over by the State from private companies, and as constructed for special State purposes.

A new era was inaugurated, after a long period of practical stagnation, by the new railway law of 1898. This was the first effort on a sufficiently large scale to cope with the serious economic handicap from which the country suffers by a lack of more railways. It is a very open question whether it would not be well to open up the country with lines constructed as in some of the British colonies, which are only to be made quite permanently finished as they earn their way. There are, however, many difficulties in the way of such an idea owing to local contracts and undertakings.

On the 6th of December, 1898, the Law for the Construction and Working of New Railways came into force. This law has been amended and added to in 1899, 1902, and 1904. Under this law, and upon the decision of the Cabinet of the 29th of April, 1902, a railway of 76 centimetres gauge was constructed during the years 1903-1904 between Kladenovats

and Arandielovats—the first of this nature in Servia for public traffic. This line has a length of 32·20 kilometres, and cost 1,500,000 francs. It was opened to traffic on the 28th of October, 1904.

Since the 21st of May, 1889, when the State undertook the working of the railways purchased from the French company, the Railway Administration has never ceased to improve the railways, and to make all the enlargements and add the necessary equipment in order to enable the system to cope with the needs of the ever-increasing traffic in a satisfactory manner.

Up to the end of 1890 there was no change in the condition of the railways as they had been handed over by the French company. At this time the number of stations upon the Servian system amounted to 49, while in 1903 they had increased by 8, being 57. In 1890 there were 41 locomotives and 904 waggons of all kinds, while in 1903 these had increased to 60 and 2,152—an increase of 19 and 1,148 respectively. In 1907 there were proportionately more locomotives and proportionately more waggons.

The total amount of capital spent for the construction of the lines, and for the purchase of the appropriated line, amounts to: Belgrade-Nish-Turkish frontier, 75,042,608 francs; Nish-Pirot-Bulgarian frontier, 21,195,914 francs; Belgrade-Middle of the Bridge over the Save, 2,434,423 francs; Lapovo-Kragujevats, 2,070,535 francs; Velika Plana-Smederevo, 1,427,590 francs; Belgrade-Slaughter-houses, 1,024,404 francs; Cuprija-Senjski Rudnik (the mine of Senje), 1,499,447 francs; and buildings and outhouses and additional construction up to the end of 1903, 3,411,196 francs—a total in 1903 of 108,106,122 francs. There was a further increase by 1907, when the total value of the lines and the total mileage both showed a proportional increase.

For rolling-stock and scheduled objects in all the services a sum of 18,629,963 francs had been expended in 1903, and this was increased in 1907. In 1889, on the 21st of May, the rolling-stock and other objects were bought from the French company, and paid for by a special loan, amounting to 9,100,000 francs. Up to the end of 1903 additional rolling-stock had been purchased to the value of 7,015,867 francs, and other material to that of 2,514,096 francs. Thus it may be estimated that the total value of the railway-lines and material belonging to the Servian State amounted at the end of 1903 to 126,736,083 francs.

At the commencement of the working of the Servian State Railway there were four regular trains between Belgrade and Nish, a passenger train and a mixed train in each direction.

According to the contract, the State paid to the company an annual indemnity of 7,000 francs per kilometre for these trains. Such goods as could not be carried by the mixed ordinary trains were carried by extra supplementary trains, for which the State had to pay to the company an indemnity of 3 francs per kilometre traversed. Later, when the different other lines were opened, there was run a mixed train in each direction. On the 13th of May, 1888, direct trains were run between Austria-Hungary, Servia, and Turkey to Salonica by Ristovats. On the 13th of August of the same year through trains were established between Austria-Hungary, Servia, Bulgaria, and Turkey, with a terminus at Constantinople. The line Lapovo-Kragujevats, which was opened to traffic on the 3rd of March, 1887, was worked by the State itself at its own expense. The contract for the working of the railways with the company did not allow railway traffic in Servia to develop satisfactorily. Instead of earning a profit, it did not cover the expenses, and the State was forced to pay the difference. This, together with various irregularities in the railway working, was one of the principal reasons which brought about the breaking of the contract with the company on the 21st of May, 1889. Since the working of the railways has passed into the hands of the State the traffic has actually increased, and the working is carried on on a more rational basis. An arrangement was concluded between the Austro-Hungarian, Servian, and Oriental Railways for the direct despatch of goods, and direct tariffs were drawn up for this purpose, which came into force in 1891.

The movement of the traffic on the Servian railways during their working by the company was not shown by detailed statistics, and was not published. In any case, the revenue was always less than the expenditure. The first statistics published under the new state of administration in 1890 show that 339,000 passengers were carried, who travelled 27,270,000 kilometres. The receipts from the passenger traffic amounted to 1,930,730 francs; goods traffic amounted to 250,760 tons, with 36,700,400 kilometre-tons. The total gross receipts in the same year were 5,096,090 francs, or 9,437 francs per kilometre. The relation between the receipts and the expenditure was 52·98 per cent. A total of 6,037 trains were despatched, with a mileage of 99,963 kilometres.

After fifteen years of State working the figures had increased considerably, some having doubled, although the railway system had not made any practical extension. The figures for the traffic in 1903 were as follows: 825,089 passengers, with a mileage of 54,918,400 kilometres, were carried, and the receipts from this source reached 2,910,150 francs; 483,260 tons of

goods were carried, with 58,422,9[illegible] kilometre-tons, and receipts of nearly 4,700,000 francs. The total gross receipts for this year were 7,512,330 francs, or 12,885 francs per kilometre. The proportion between the receipts and the expenditure was 48·9 per cent. A total of 12,990 trains were despatched, travelling 1,400,044 kilometres.

In 1907 there was a further marked improvement in the railway figures, and the gross receipts were 12,825,000 francs.

The traffic on the Servian railways increases each year, and results in a proportional increase of the gross receipts. In 1908 it was estimated that the receipts would amount to 8,550,000 francs, but the amount actually realized reached 11,177,000 francs.

By the Law of 1898 on railway construction, it was decided to construct twelve additional lines as rapidly as possible. For this purpose additional centimes of 5 per cent. on the direct taxes were established to serve as a base for the necessary construction funds, and by a Law of 1904 the Uprava Fondova was authorized to lend the necessary money to the Government, this institution finding the capital abroad. The lines were the following :

1. Belgrade–Obrenovats–Lajkovats–Valyevo–Kosjerits–Pozega.
2. Stalatch–Krushevats–Trstenik–Kraljevo–Tchatchak–Poźego–Ujitse.
3. Ujitse–Mokra-Gora–to the Bosnian frontier.
4. Valyevo–Osetchina–Zavlaka–Losanitsa–to the Bosnian frontier.
5. Mladenovats–Arandjelovats–Lazarevats–Laikovats.
6. Nish–Kniajerats–Zajetchar–Negotin–Brza Palanka–Kladovo–to the frontier of Roumania.
7. Kragujevats–Guberevci–Kraljevo.
8. Nish–Prokuplje–Kurshumliya–to the Turkish frontier.
9. Paracin–Lukovo–Boljevats–Zayetchar.
10. Dubravitsa–Pojarevats–Petrorats–Zagubitsa–Zayetchar.
11. Petrovats–Zabare–Velika–Plana.
12. Shabats–Lešnitsa–Losanitsa.

Many of these lines are in construction departmentally, while others are not yet started. The lines 6 and 8 constitute the Servian section of the famous Danube-Adriatic line, which is intended to link up the Servian system with the Roumanian by a bridge over the Danube on the one hand, and give an outlet to Servian produce on the Adriatic on the other. There exists a treaty between Servia and Roumania for the building of

the Danube bridge, which was concluded on January 18, 1898, and runs as follows :

ARTICLE 1.—A bridge will be constructed over the Danube between Turnu and Severin and Kladova to unite the railways of Roumania and Servia.

ARTICLE 2.—The studies relative to the plans and specifications of this bridge and of its junction with the railway-lines on each side, as well as the construction of this bridge and of its junctions, will be made entirely by the Roumanian Government.

Servian engineers will be associated with the Roumanian engineers during the period of the studies and of the works of construction of the bridge and of the connections.

ARTICLE 3.—The Roumanian Government agrees to finish the plans and the specifications of the above-named bridge up to the end of the month of September, 1899.

ARTICLE 4.—After the plans and specifications have been examined and approved by the two Governments, a later arrangement will fix the period of the beginning of the works of construction and the date of their completion.

ARTICLE 5.—The expenses necessitated by the studies and the construction of this bridge will be borne half by each Government.

The expenses occasioned by the connections of the bridge with the railways of the two countries will be borne by each state for the connections constructed on its territory.

ARTICLE 6.—The funds necessary for the studies and the construction of the bridge and its connections on the two banks will be furnished by the Roumanian Government.

The future agreement referred to in Article 4 will fix the details relative to the payment by Servia of the part appertaining to the expenses due for the annuities of the capital expended for the studies, the construction of the bridge, and of the connection with the Servian railways.

The annual expenses of maintenance will be borne equally by each of the two Governments.

ARTICLE 7.—The present convention will be ratified and the ratifications exchanged at Bucarest as soon as this can be done.

Done at Bucarest, in double copies, the 6th (18th) of January, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight.

D. STURDZA,
President of the Council of Ministers,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

K. N. CHRISTITCH,
Minister of Justice in Servia.

As yet nothing has been done in this direction, but the carrying out of the arrangement is only a question of time. The Servian section of the line was surveyed some time ago by British engineers, and at one time it seemed probable that the line might be constructed under British auspices, and with British and French capital, but the affair was not terminated. It may, however, be taken as certain that the policy of the Servian Government with regard to railways is progressive in the extreme, and that an increasingly large amount of money will be spent in this direction in the near future.

It is of interest to mention that Belgrade lies upon the direct road to Constantinople from Vienna, and that three times weekly the Orient express passes in each direction, besides the daily express to Constantinople.

Roads.

At the time of the Romans the Servia of to-day was intersected by many important roads, which possessed a great international importance even at that early date. These roads joined together the military colonies and centres of the Romans, and were primarily devoted to the military and administrative requirements, rather than to those of trade and general travel. The ancient road along the Danube, crossing into what is now Roumania at the Iron Gates, is worthy of all admiration even to-day, having been laid on foundations constructed below the surface of the river. It is significant that the entire army of the Emperor Barbarossa, during the Crusades, passed through Servia in the 12th century. After the fall of the Roman Empire new ideas and necessities made themselves felt: travel and trade changed direction, and many of the old roads were abandoned and others constructed. During the period of the prosperity of the Servian State the principal movement was towards Ragusa, on the Adriatic, towards Salonica and towards Constantinople. The Turkish invaders destroyed this, and created new highways, adapted to their military requirements. After the liberation from the Turks, in the beginning of the 19th century, Servia found herself in a very deplorable condition of neglect. It is needless to say that the roads of the country were quite uncared for. Beyond a few principal roads, leading from Belgrade to Constantinople, Scutari, in Albania, Widin, and to Bosnia, all the roads were neglected. Servia, beyond the effort which she had to expend upon the organization of the newly liberated State, had also to busy herself at once with the construction of roads, if only such as were the most necessary for the national movement. The first law organizing the construction and maintenance of public roads was promulgated in 1864, and even before this year the various roads had been divided into classes, indicating that even before there was any legislation the Government had recognized the paramount importance of the question, and had laid the foundation for the network of roads existing to-day. In 1864 the system of roads already included the centres of government and the chief trading towns, while it was largely based upon the principal movements of trade, and the facilitating of access to the country and to the frontiers, for its defence.

The law mentioned above, which was intended to organize and develop the system of means of communication, was drawn up on the French model, and contained the following principal points: The use of the roads was free to all, but certain taxes were levied for the crossing of rivers considered

as unfordable because of their depth or the rapidity of their current, and so unsafe on foot or in a carriage. These crossings had usually been accomplished by *chalands*, which belonged to the State, and were rented by private individuals. The revenue from these taxes was paid into a special fund devoted to the upkeep of these, and later also to the building of bridges, and was known as the 'Bridge Fund.' There were also tolls at the bridges over unfordable rivers, and this revenue was also paid into the Bridge Fund. Later this legal arrangement was replaced by a new law (1896), which did away with bridge tolls. The same law provided for the imposition of an additional centime on all the taxes collected by the State, in order to secure in this way the revenue of the Bridge Fund.

The Minister of Public Works has charge of the construction of roads, but the other Ministers also have the right of initiative in this respect. The roads in Servia are divided into three categories—viz., State, departmental, and district—according to their situation and the objects for which they are intended.

The duty of their care and upkeep falls upon the State authorities. The communal and village roads are left to the care of the communal authorities, but the State authority always takes a share in their completion, the road either being traced by the State engineers, or the cost of the original construction being spread over the whole district, and only the cost of maintenance falling on the commune. In theory, the construction of the roads is accomplished by the actual physical effort of the people, but since the law allows a monetary payment in lieu of such corporal labour, it has become the custom to have roads built by contractors, whose charges are met by the revenue collected for this purpose from those who would in theory be called upon to do the actual work.

The roads are built upon the plans and profiles drawn up by engineers, but need the final approval of the Minister of Public Works before the work can be commenced. He it is who decides upon the width of the road, the space to be left for the driving of cattle, etc. There are to-day some 7,412 kilometres of roads in the country, of which 1,107 kilometres are State roads, 3,780 kilometres departmental roads, and 2,524 kilometres district roads. There are also 389 kilometres of new roads projected, among them being a road which will run along by the Danube and traverse the gorge of the Iron Gates, and thus follow the direction of the old road of the Emperor Trajan from Golubats through Mladenavats to Tekia. It will need very great expenditure to complete this road, but this will not prevent its completion any more than the expense incurred hindered the making of the Ibar, the Tchestobroditza and Outchar roads, which pass through rocky gorges and defiles.

Recently much work has been done in the repairing of existing roads, many of which were built without the assistance of engineers; and the intention is to choose shorter routes, less violent inclines, and less sharp curves. Special regulations exist on these points, according to which the inclines on State roads may not exceed 6 per cent., on departmental roads 7 per cent., and on district roads 8 per cent., in mountainous and difficult regions, while under easier conditions the inclines are considerably lessened. The half diameter of the sharpest curves may not be less than 24—that is to say, of 20 yards. Considerable attention is also paid to bridges over rivers. Before the Servo-Turkish War of 1876-1877 there was only one bridge over the Morava, whereas to-day there are twenty-nine, besides the railway bridges. Of these bridges, six are built of steel, some of stone, and others of wood; but every effort is being made to replace the wooden structures by the more permanent stone or concrete constructions.

Notwithstanding the considerable success which has attended the building of roads in the past, a new project of law has been prepared, which will enable the roads of Servia to be again classed according to the development of trade, the trend of travel, and the new railway-lines. It is generally believed that the road system of the country will be most successfully organized on an adequate basis. The authorities fully realize the necessity of supplementing the comparative shortage of railways by a greater extension of the existing roadways, which will enable the produce from more districts to reach the main lines of communication, and be available for export.

Posts, Telegraphs, and Telephones.

By M. ALEXANDRE YOVITCHITCH,
Assistant Director of Posts and Telegraphs

A postal service, carried on by special couriers, apparently existed from the commencement of the first insurrection, which broke out in Servia against the Turkish domination in 1806. It is, however, impossible to ascertain positively if the use of such special couriers for the communication of news was a service organized as is our postal service of to-day, or simply a provisional service, called into being by the needs of war in order to facilitate military operations. Within fairly narrow bounds, a more or less regular postal service had existed even before 1806, because the Turks, when masters of the country, utilized special couriers, named Tatars, for the interchange of news between Belgrade, the seat of the Turkish Vezir, and Constantinople. It is thus most probable

that the beginning of the Servian postal system, from 1804 to 1820, was a similar service, in which the special couriers went from one army to another to transmit orders and other important communications. We must therefore date the beginning of a real postal system from 1820, since from then onwards there is evidence that the couriers (or Tatars) and postillions (or Souroudjis) travelled regularly from place to place, carrying despatches between the various authorities of the country.

The Tatars carried State correspondence of importance, whereas the Souroudjis were only charged with the distribution of ordinary correspondence. In 1843, when the Austro-Hungarian Government received the authorization of the Sublime Porte to establish a Consulate at Belgrade, steps were at once taken to make the fullest use of this permission, and to organize, in connection with the new Consulate, a special postal service. From this date to 1868 it was the post-office of the Consulate at Belgrade which undertook the forwarding of letters between Servia and Austria-Hungary, as well as those destined for other centres of Western Europe. In 1843 the Servian Government organized a regular postal service for local needs, and at the same time established permanent post-offices through the country. This was accomplished under a special law, the first of three affecting postal affairs, and was promulgated in 1843. The second followed in 1865, and was superseded in 1868 by the law actually in force to-day. It was in 1868 that Servia was able to conclude a postal Convention with Austria-Hungary, and from that time the Austro-Hungarian Consulate post-office ceased to exist, and the Servian postal authorities undertook the work of forwarding the correspondence of the country to Austria-Hungary and other destinations. In 1874 Servia joined the Universal Postal Union, and from that date the modern postal system of the country may be said to have been firmly established. The development of the postal service is best judged by the figures giving the actual condition in 1905. In this year there were some 1,395 post-offices, of which 111 were permanent State offices, 1,275 belonging to the communes, while 3 were situated at watering-places and 6 were itinerate. The service employed about 1,000 employés and officials, and owned 13 railway postal vans, 35 large postal carts, and 134 smaller postal carts. In many districts the postal carts are still the substitute for railways, and over 26,000 passengers were carried in this way to their various destinations. The postal roads of the country had been considerably extended, attaining a length of 2,147 kilometres, while railways had a length of 582 kilometres, and water-ways 514 kilometres. It is interesting to

note that the convenience of the individual letter-writer has been studied by the supply of 1,386 letter-boxes. It may also be taken that the letter-box demonstrates in a very evident manner that there is security of correspondence in the country, since it is evident that the people would not put their letters in boxes open to every attack were they not sure of at least a reasonable certainty of safety. The rapid development of the correspondence of the Servian people may be seen by a comparison of the number of letters in 1902 and 1905. In the former year there were 4,165,111 local letters and 2,270,289 foreign, while in 1905 there were 5,720,058 local letters (excluding 1,702,251 pieces of official correspondence) and 6,145,051 foreign respectively, thus making a total of 11,865,108 letters. In addition, the 404,405 local and 264,908 foreign postcards and letter-cards of 1902 increased to the 2,332,143 local and the 1,722,176 foreign of 1905. In the country over 10,000,000 newspapers and reviews passed through the post the same year, while the volume of printed matter had swollen from the 4,335,945 of 1902 to close on 10,000,000. The total number of objects of all classes dealt with by the Servian Post Office in 1905 was 39,628,949, of which 29,841,313 were local and 9,797,636 foreign. There were 547,315 parcel packets, of a value of 289,076,076 francs, of which 219,100, representing 214,099,552 francs, were local, and 328,215, representing 74,976,524 francs, international. In local money orders, post or telegraph, there were 300,476, of a value of 26,396,429 francs, while of international money orders there were 57,432, of a value of 5,317,646 francs.

Before the introduction of the electric telegraph into the country there had been no endeavour to organize a system of optic telegraphy such as has been the case in other lands. The first telegraph-line was that between Belgrade and Alexinats, constructed under a special telegraph law in 1855. This line served to connect the Austro-Hungarian and the Turkish systems. From this date there was an increasing development of the Servian system. The geographical position of the country was responsible for the fact that from 1860 almost the whole of the telegraphic correspondence between the Occident and the Orient passed through Servia. At this time the communication through the country was sure, the lines were in good condition, and the personnel was adequate to its task. The International Telegraphic Congress held in Paris in 1865 formally complimented the Servian telegraphists. In 1866 Servia joined the International Telegraphic Union. The through telegraphic correspondence passed by Servia until 1876, when, because of the war, the same attention was not paid to the telegraphic lines as had been in the past. As a

consequence there was a delay in the transmission of telegrams, and the through telegraphic messages began to seek other, though more roundabout, routes. In 1899 the Servian Government constructed a direct line of telegraph in order to enable foreign countries to exchange telegrams directly between Buda-Pesth and Sofia. In 1906, by an arrangement with Austria-Hungary and with Turkey, a new line was made enabling a direct service between Buda-Pesth and Constantinople. This line is further intended to serve for the transit of telegrams from the West to the East, since the routes by Servia and Bulgaria have been made the same as by other telegraphic routes. It must not be forgotten, also, that Buda-Pesth is in direct connection with London. The old Morse instruments are rapidly being replaced by more modern ones, such as those of the American system (Sanders) and the Hughes instruments, especially in cases where there is a large amount of work, as on the international lines. There are to-day nearly 4,000 kilometres of telegraph-line, with 9,000 kilometres of wire. In 1905, 477,892 local telegrams were despatched, besides 663,842 service messages (notably those relating to the railway system). The international movement included 186,994 messages sent and received, and 49,878 through telegrams. The telephone system was only introduced very recently, and commenced to operate in 1900. The State possesses the sole right of constructing and working both telegraphs and telephones in Servia. There is a great demand in Belgrade for telephonic facilities, and many of those who desire to subscribe have to wait some time before they can be supplied with instruments. The urban telephones in 1905 had a length of 506 kilometres and 11 kilometres underground. The length of the wires was 2,762 kilometres and 2,138 kilometres respectively. The inter-urban system had a length above-ground of 719 kilometres. There were also over 400 kilometres of telegraph-wire utilized for the telephone service. There were nearly 1,500 subscribers, and 2,500,000 conversations in 1905, since which time an enormous development has taken place.

The total revenue from posts, telegraphs, and telephones amounted in 1905 to 2,332,677 francs, composed as follows: Telephones, 208,012 francs; posts, 1,379,536 francs; telegraphs, 439,596 francs; various receipts, 278,090 francs; and extraordinary receipts, 27,442 francs. As against this the expenses amounted to 2,140,433 francs, leaving a net surplus of 192,244 francs. The free official service of posts and telegraphs was to the value of 995,390 francs.

CHAPTER XX

FOREIGN TRADE AND THE TRADE PROBLEM

BY DR. VELIMIR T. BAJKITCH

Director of the Belgrade Commercial Bank, Servian Delegate for the Treaty of Commerce with Austria-Hungary

To obtain an accurate idea of the foreign trade of a country, it is imperatively necessary to have an understanding of the condition of national economic life, which depends upon certain natural and social conditions. Among such conditions are area, capital, labour, education, and administration. Servia possesses an area of 48,302 square kilometres, and a population of 2,750,000. In comparison with other economic areas, Servia must be considered as the smallest. And this gives at once an important idea of the industrial situation—that is to say, it throws a light upon the fact that in the Protectionist commercial policy of to-day, such a small economic area is not well adapted for the creation of those branches of industry which owe their ability to compete by being conducted on a large scale. In other words, large manufacturing industries, unless specially favoured by natural conditions, have small chance of success in Servia. This fact is, however, only important for the consideration of the organization of future economic policy, since for the moment other industrial questions are far more imperative. The principal element of the economic activity still remains agriculture, in the broadest sense of the word — and this, notwithstanding the fact that in recent years we have busied ourselves in promoting industry as a consequence of the protective tariffs of Central Europe, and even though we may expect some advantages from the action later. Servia is in reality the most agricultural country of Europe. The first two tables on p. 307 show very clearly how extremely agricultural is Servia's economic organization.

There is an absence of almost every necessity for the development of a healthy industrial State on a large scale. We may say the same of Roumania and Bulgaria—that their economic organization is agricultural—but there is a quantitative difference which is favourable to these two other States. From the above figures it is evident that the national revenue of Servia

depends upon the agricultural production. The following figures show in detail the situation of this production. In 1903 the value of the whole was 415,000,000 francs, of which agricultural and stock products represented 375,000,000 francs, and industrial products 40,000,000 francs. If we compare these statistics with those of the neighbouring countries, this is one fact which stands out clearly with regard to the industrial situation, and which constitutes a difference between Servia and these other countries. Much has been written about this in Servia, but too frequently it has not been rightly considered nor appreciated.

Article.	Production (in Francs).	Percentage of Total Production.	Export (in Francs).	Percentage of Amount Exported to Production.	Percentage of Total Export.
Agricultural products (cereals, peas, vegetables, etc.) ..	162,511,000	44·44	8,368,000	5·25	13·97
Fruit products (fruit, prunes, wine) ..	43,165,000	11·27	6,207,000	14·38	10·35
Cattle and meat products (1900) ..	167,748,000	43·81	30,206,000*	18·01	50·54
Other products ..	9,509,000	2·48	3,797,000*	39·95	6·33
Total ..	382,933,000		48,578,000	•	

* Excluding slaughtered cattle and fowls and animal products.

Commerce.	Industrial Goods.	Agricultural Products.
Imports, 58,231,000 francs	51,126,000 (87·80 per cent.)	7,105,000 (12·20 per cent.)
Exports, 59,967,000 francs	10,884,000 (18·15 per cent.)	49,083,000 (81·85 per cent.)

The following figures, giving the export of the most important articles of agricultural industry in Servia, Roumania, and Bulgaria, in percentages of the total export, are of considerable interest :

Article.	Servia.	Roumania.	Bulgaria.
Cereals ..	13·97	84·5	27·12
Fruits ..	10·35	0·7	11·18
Cattle ..	50·54	3·1	5·37

The agricultural production of Servia is much more varied and not so uniform as that of the other two countries. This naturally also applies to the export trade, and is very important in view of future developments.

Having once established which are the principal articles of Servian export, it should be possible to determine to which countries these articles should be sent, with special reference to the industrial countries of Western Europe, which have always to face a shortage in their agricultural production. The most appropriate market for Servian exports would seem to be the Central European States, especially Germany. But the question of openings for the export trade—a fundamental question in the industrial development of a country—is not so simple, and the real nature of the trade conditions is rather remarkable. The geographical position of Servia must also be taken into consideration. This is so remarkable as to have become proverbial. In all school books it is taught that there only exist two inland countries in Europe—Switzerland and Servia—both possessing no outlet to the sea, and both lying at considerable distance from it. It is not necessary here to dwell upon the effect of this geographical position upon the national industry or the foreign trade of Servia. History demonstrates that no country which does not possess access to the sea has been able to play a great rôle and develop on a large scale. And is not the endless struggle of the Great Powers for a *mare liberum* in itself a sufficient answer to the question? The waters lying nearest to Servia are the Black Sea, the Ægean, and the Adriatic. There exist no means of access to the last named, either railway or waterway. Servia is connected by rail with the Ægean, and with the Black Sea by the Danube. Here we touch upon an equally important condition of industrial life—the question of ways of communication. This may at once be put down as far from satisfactory with respect to the internal industrial situation, and it is only the ways of communication outside the country which need be considered in connection with the foreign trade. The chief means of communication in the country is the Danube, which flows along the northern frontier, and which is navigable upwards to Germany and downwards to the Black Sea. Such articles as are capable of water carriage can make use of the Danube, either to Austria-Hungary and Germany, or to Roumania, Bulgaria, and the Black Sea. The second line of communication is the railway, which connects Servia with Buda-Pesth, Vienna, and Western Europe, with the Ægean Sea via Salonica, and with the Black Sea via Varna. Beyond these there are no ways open; the entire trade must use one of these two roads. Since Servia exports agricultural products

and imports manufactured articles, and since countries lie to the westward which produce such manufactured goods and import such agricultural produce, and since both waterway and railway stretch towards the west, it is easy to understand that the whole of the trade gravitates in that direction. The table on p. 310 shows the position of the various countries with which Servia has trade.

Here we find another of the most important characteristics of Servian commercial policy—her relations with Austria-Hungary. It is natural that a country should develop a considerable trade with neighbouring States, and so the trade with Austria-Hungary in itself does not have much significance, although Austria-Hungary absorbs 56 per cent. of the imports and 87 per cent. of the exports of Servia. There are, however, three special points : (1) Disproportionate trade with a neighbouring State ; (2) Austria-Hungary is well known not to be a manufacturing country ; and (3) the trade assets of Austria-Hungary are passive. With regard to the second point, it is well to note that, although Austria-Hungary has made efforts in recent years to become a manufacturing country, she was until recently almost exclusively an agricultural State, since her agricultural products were by far the most important element in national production. She imported from Servia the same products that she produced herself in excess. There was no real demand in the country for these articles. With further reference to this point, and as a reason for the third point, history shows that Austria-Hungary has directed her entire commercial policy towards obtaining the most intimate and exclusive relations possible with the Danubian States. History also shows very clearly how Austro-Hungarian policy has been especially directed towards the establishment of the closest economic relations with Servia.

When Great Britain concluded the famous Ponsonby Commercial Treaty in 1883, at a time when the Danubian principalities were little more than Turkish provinces, Austria made every effort to set aside this treaty, which placed all countries upon an equal footing ; and it was only when all her efforts were found vain that she also adopted the treaty, though even then only as a provisional convention. In the year 1861 Turkey concluded a series of commercial treaties with England, France, Italy, Russia, etc. In all these treaties an import duty of 8 per cent. *ad valorem* was agreed upon ; the same tariff was also to hold good for Servia and the united principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. Austria-Hungary then moved all levers in order to obtain a differential treatment in Turkey—or, at least, in those principalities of the Balkan Peninsula adjoining the monarchy—and she succeeded

Country.	Total.		Export in 1,000 Francs.	Per Cent. of Total Trade.	Per Cent. of Total Export.	Import.			Transit.		
	In 1,000 Francs.	Per Cent.				In 1,000 Francs.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	In 1,000 Francs.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.
America	952·6	0·68	0·2	0·02	—	952·4	99·98	1·82	—	—	—
Austria-Hungary	95,910·2	55,282·80	55,282·8	57·64	87·67	29,132·2	30·37	55·80	11,795·2	11·98	41·44
Belgium	1,171·2	0·81	749·2	63·11	1·13	42·2	36·89	0·81	—	—	—
Bosnia	249·4	0·17	197·0	79·80	0·30	54·4	20·20	0·10	—	—	—
Bulgaria	13,327·8	9·17	750·4	5·63	1·15	674·8	5·06	1·30	11,902·6	89·31	42·90
Greece	500·6	0·34	16·6	3·32	0·03	484·0	96·68	0·93	—	—	—
England	4,878·8	3·36	391·2	8·35	0·60	4,487·6	91·65	8·60	—	—	—
Italy	921·6	0·63	115·2	12·50	0·18	806·7	87·50	1·55	—	—	—
Germany.. ..	12,597·8	8·67	3,840·0	30·48	5·88	8,757·8	69·52	16·77	—	—	—
Roumania ..	2,547·8	1·75	1,455·6	57·13	2·23	1,092·2	42·87	2·09	—	—	—
Russia	894·4	0·61	225·4	25·56	0·35	669·0	74·44	1·28	—	—	—
Turkey	7,765·6	5·35	1,700·2	21·89	2·61	1,721·6	21·91	3·29	9,343·8	56·30	15·66
France	2,279·6	1·57	384·6	16·87	0·59	1,895·0	83·13	3·63	—	—	—
Holland	347·2	0·24	32·0	9·22	0·05	315·2	90·78	0·60	—	—	—
Montenegro ..	58·6	0·04	5·8	9·20	0·01	52·8	90·10	0·10	—	—	—
Switzerland ..	840·6	0·58	144·4	17·18	0·22	696·2	82·82	1·33	—	—	—

in securing the following paragraph in the 'Acte Additionnel' of the Commercial Treaty, dated the 10th of May, 1862: 'That with regard to Servia, and also Roumania, the *status quo*—that is to say, an import duty of 3 per cent.—shall be maintained for the future.' This differential treatment would inevitably concentrate the external trade of Servia towards Austria-Hungary, even if the social and economic conditions should modify the trade, and if there should arrive the possibility of other outlets for the country's products.

When, in the year 1878, Servia, by the Berlin Congress, had gained her independence, and had been enabled to regulate her commercial relations, and especially her economic relations, independent of others, Austria left nothing undone to maintain and further to strengthen this differential treatment. In order to prevent once and for all the political independence of Servia from weakening the intimate reciprocal economic relations which had been secured, Austria adopted radical means. She forced the Servian Government to enter into a Zollverein. This was the culmination of her systematic policy. The Treaty of the Zollverein was rejected by the Skupchtina. This seemed to be the simple and direct way, in the opinion of many of the politicians of those days, of bringing about the emancipation of Servia from Austria-Hungary. In furtherance of this object, Servia attempted especially to conclude a system of commercial treaties which would exclude the favoured differential position of Austria-Hungary. This attempt was violently opposed by the Government at Vienna. They were furious when they learnt that Servia had concluded her first commercial treaty with England. Austria demanded for herself all the advantages which England had obtained in this treaty. The result of the consequent diplomatic controversy was that the Servian Cabinet, which had been working for the emancipation of the country, had to resign. The Austrians made use of means which are, happily, not very customary in politics: they closed the frontier to Servian cattle. As the cattle exports of Servia were already at that time entirely dependent upon Austro-Hungarian markets, this action affected the country so vitally that the Government had to resign. By the next Commercial Treaty, which replaced the rejected Zollverein, and which was concluded between the new Cabinet and Austria-Hungary, the latter completely realized her old object—a differential commercial position. It was agreed simply that the whole mutual trade should be carried on under the designation of 'frontier traffic' at particularly low rates. This Commercial Treaty between the two countries was a direct violation of the principle of the most favoured nation's clause, but Austria-Hungary

maintained it as the basis of trade relations for ten years. The whole exports of Servia were subject to differential treatment on the part of Austria-Hungary, while the industrial products of Austria-Hungary were likewise granted a favourable differential treatment on the part of Servia. Austria-Hungary, despite her efforts, did not succeed in securing any differential preference in Roumania, owing to the strong opposition shown by that country; nor can it be denied that Servia made every effort to escape from this preference. The people would have been glad in those days to accept even higher tariff rates, provided they were the same as those applied to other nationalities. Undoubtedly, Servia struggled most energetically against this frontier traffic arrangement, which, however, was most favourable to her trade.

The year 1881 was of great importance to the policy of Austria-Hungary, because it brought great reforms in the tariff rates. In 1880 a movement in favour of national agrarian protection had already been started in Austria. It developed so strongly in the early eighties that an increase in the protective duties on agrarian products became inevitable. It must not be overlooked that Servia was a great competitor of Austro-Hungarian agriculture, and it would not have been remarkable had this agitation been specially directed against Servia. The new tariff rates were raised very considerably. In concluding this treaty of 1881 with Austria-Hungary, Servia had unfortunately neglected to fix the duties on grain, and thus this article fell under the autonomous tariff. Protests were raised, and Servia succeeded without difficulty in making the whole of the protective duty invalid, since after 1887 Servia was able to revert to the old tariff. This presents a unique spectacle in the history of commercial relations.

A new Commercial Treaty had to be concluded in 1892. The agitation of the agrarian Protectionists in Austria-Hungary had only become stronger with time. The conditions under which Austria-Hungary could export into Germany had become less favourable. Negotiations were commenced, and one might have thought that the low tariff rates which Servia had enjoyed thus far would inevitably have disappeared, in view of the great development of the agrarian movement. It is true that the new treaty of 1893 differed from those formerly in force. The special frontier tariff for Austrian industry was abandoned, and Austria-Hungary was placed for the first time on an equal footing with her competitors in Servia. This innovation met with violent protests from Austria-Hungary, and the procedure of the Austro-Hungarian delegates has been characterized as an unintelligible display of weakness. Those who criticized, however, were quite un-

acquainted with the true state of affairs. Austria-Hungary was obliged to take this step, because she was bound with regard to Germany. The commercial agreement of 1893 between Austria-Hungary and Germany respecting the Balkan States had to be paid for very dearly by the former. Germany insisted that Austria-Hungary should abandon all the special benefits which she had enjoyed under the arrangement of frontier traffic. It is therefore wrong to assert that the Servians succeeded in shaking off this burden; the contrary would be more correct—that is to say, that Servia, in contradiction to her policy of 1880, now herself offered these preferential conditions, but that Austria-Hungary was not in a position to accept them. It is likewise erroneous, consequently, to hold Servia responsible for the results of this change. The abolition of the frontier tariff on Austro-Hungarian articles was nothing but a commercial success on the part of Germany, who, indeed, made no secret of this. This is best shown by the change which has taken place since that time in the Servian export trade. The following will illustrate the argument:

In the period from 1844 to 1892 the Austro-Hungarian imports into Servia formed 66·30 per cent. of the total imports, while the German imports amounted to only 7·7 per cent In the period 1893 to 1900, however, the percentage of Austro-Hungarian imports had sunk to 55·09 per cent., while German imports had increased to 12·72 per cent.

That Servia did not acquire any stronger position by this treaty of 1893 than it had possessed in the year 1892 is clearly proved by the fact that the rates of the new treaty were, on the whole, those of the former treaty. It was simply that the differential preference which Austria-Hungary had so far enjoyed was now declared to be the most favoured treatment. It is true that the new treaty implied some special benefits to Servian exports. It might have been expected that, with the abolition of the frontier tariff for Austro-Hungarian goods, there would have also resulted the same thing for Servia. Austria-Hungary was, however, quite willing to continue to allow Servia to enjoy the special benefits of the frontier traffic, as well as the cattle convention. Austria-Hungary thus did not hesitate to adopt a line of policy quite opposed to the general tendency in her dealings with Servia. Everything possible was done to maintain the economic intimacy with Servia which had been established. And why was this done? Was it only with the object of keeping open a market for her own industrial articles? Decidedly not. History explains the motive of this policy. Austria-Hungary has always regarded the Balkan Peninsula as lying within her sphere of influence; she has always aspired to secure for herself an

economic supremacy in these territories. The chief aim of her political policy was territorial expansion in this direction, and this object would long since have been realized had it not come into collision with the interests of the Great European Powers, who were anxious to maintain the *status quo*. Whenever it was compatible with the interests of the Great Powers, however, such expansion has been effected without difficulty, as was the case when Bosnia and Herzegovina were occupied. The actual state of these provinces to-day is practically that of complete incorporation into the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. This tendency in Austrian politics has been particularly marked since the establishment of the new German Empire. *Drang nach Osten* became the dominating maxim of Austrian policy.

In carrying out this policy, Austria has found that her commercial relations afforded effective means. She has been most obliging as regards Servian exports, even when an opposite tendency prevailed in her own country. Thus it came about that the Servian exports, which, as has already been shown, were dependent upon Austria-Hungary, owing to the geographical position, were altogether concentrated on those markets to and through which they had to pass. The peculiar circumstance arose of a single country taking nearly 90 per cent. of the exports of a neighbouring country. The Servian export trade adapted itself completely to the requirements and habits of their neighbour. Thus Austria-Hungary became the most suitable, and, indeed, the only possible, market for certain articles, without which Servian production could not have existed. The Cattle Convention proved specially advantageous, since it made it possible for cattle-breeding to be carried on on a really large scale in Servia. These facts, and especially the possibility of a cattle blockade, proved powerful means of political interference in the hands of Austria-Hungary, and these means were frequently utilized. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that Servia saw in the foreign policy of Austria-Hungary that has just been outlined a danger to her existence, that the Servians regarded the Austrians as their arch-enemies, and that they dreaded the preferential tariff as the gift of the Danaos.

In this way there arose a fatal difference between the economic interests of the country, which called for as great an intimacy with Austria-Hungary as possible, and the political interests, which demanded the complete emancipation of the country. There is no question of economics that has been so much discussed and written about as the question of the so-called economic emancipation of Servia from Austria-Hungary. The controversy has been most hotly conducted

in recent years. The reasons why the agitation took such deep root in the minds of the people have already been outlined. Other reasons will be found in the foreign policy of Austria-Hungary.

The manner in which Austria-Hungary has applied the veterinary convention with Servia, in order to forward her political plans, is particularly worthy of remark. Abuse of the veterinary regulations for purposes having nothing in common with considerations of health is in itself nothing new. This alone would not be sufficient to account for all the bad feeling which has been stirred up in Servia. As a matter of fact, Austria-Hungary has, in this respect, been, if anything, less strict with Servia than has Germany. But Austria-Hungary has made use of these means for purely political aims. The cattle blockade was the means of forcing Servia into making undesirable political concessions. Hence it happens that in no other country is there so much interest shown in the question of the elasticity of the rules of cattle conventions. The unenviable position of the Southern Slavs in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy itself strengthened the idea of emancipation. Every oppression practised upon the Southern Slavs has caused a violent protest on their behalf from the people of Servia. All the Servians who have emigrated into Servia from Austria-Hungary—and among these are many who exercise a great influence upon public opinion—were unanimous in the verdict that Austria-Hungary was to be considered the greatest enemy of Servia. In recent years one Servian from Bosnia and one from Dalmatia have been particularly active in the spreading of this idea. The greatest propaganda, however, has only been made quite recently, during the Austro-Servian tariff war. The cause of this was the evident tendency of the Servo-Bulgarian Customs Union. It must be admitted that this union was a mistake from the beginning. It was perfectly plain to all those who initiated it that Austria-Hungary would not approve of it. Notwithstanding this, the utterly reckless proceeding of Austria and her quite inappropriate arguments have astonished the world. The same objects could have been attained while observing the usual consideration, and the Austro-Hungarian point of view might easily have been supported by better arguments. But Austria preferred to adopt violent measures. A wave of just indignation ran through the whole country, and emancipation *à tous prix* was universally demanded.

The actual commercial policy of Servia was at all times, however, in direct contrast to this ebullition of national feeling Even at a time when Austria-Hungary made the most unjust

demands, the very Government which had inaugurated the Servo-Bulgarian Customs Union found itself unable to proceed on the lines that were laid down, which is the best proof of the accuracy of the politicians who regard the idea of emancipation as an ideal to be achieved at all costs.

It would lead too far to attempt a narration of the discussions which were carried on between the two parties. It will be sufficient to indicate a few arguments of the supporters of a real commercial policy. Live cattle constitutes the chief item in Servian exports, and these exports now go exclusively to Austria-Hungary. In the search for other markets for this article, Germany alone deserves to be taken into consideration; but Germany has refused any veterinary convention, and would under no circumstances admit Servian cattle into her country. Moreover, the tariff rates are still higher in Germany than in Austria-Hungary. But even if this were not so, the whole trade would be dependent on Austria-Hungary, because Germany can only be reached by passing through Austria-Hungary. The same applies to the export of fresh-killed meat, which is, moreover, subjected to very high duties in such countries as admit it. Packed meat, also, would scarcely be able to compete with supplies from greater producers. It is thus evident that emancipation from Austria-Hungary would have to overcome insuperable difficulties. All the means by which it has been attempted to reach this object have remained simply palliatives. The share of Austria-Hungary in the export trade has meanwhile risen absolutely and relatively. In spite of this fact, the adherents of the emancipation idea persist in their demands, and do not even fear a Customs war with Austria-Hungary, because that would be their most effective weapon. The cooler heads of this group seriously recommend an extremely drastic measure—viz., the abandonment of all preferential treatment granted by Austria-Hungary. That this expedient would be a terrible paradox is proved by the following fact: The same people who talk so much of breaking the chain which ties us to Austria-Hungary become terribly excited if they hear that Austria-Hungary thinks of cutting this tie herself, and doing away with the frontier tariff and the cattle convention.

The serious national economists energetically contest this tendency, because they fully understand that the advantages of the so-called emancipation could not compare with our losses in the Austro-Hungarian market. It is not difficult for them to prove that the voluntary abandonment of the benefits of the frontier traffic would weaken Servia economically to such an extent that she would lose still more—her power of resistance. An economic policy which would abandon the certain markets

near at hand, in order to secure uncertain markets at a great distance, would be quite unreasonable and unrealizable. The question of the Commercial Treaty, although it aided to define the position of the two economic parties, did not affect the great question which is the problem for the future of the commercial policy of Servia.

If it is wished to understand this problem it is necessary to study the actual foreign policy of Austria-Hungary. It may be tacitly assumed that Austria-Hungary would welcome any further extension possible in the Balkan Peninsula; but the possibility of a realization of this hope has been much diminished within the last thirty years. Austria-Hungary has become internally weaker. The national aspirations of Hungary, whose success is merely a question of time, are a serious danger to the unity of the Imperial army. The Democratic party has now the upper hand in Hungary, and the War party is weak. Has not Kossuth declared that the programme of the Coalition consists in living in peace with the neighbouring countries, in order to devote all possible energy to the development of Hungary—a declaration which considerably annoyed the General Staff in Vienna? Religious strife, race hatred, and political dissensions have so much shaken Austria herself, that the nation can hardly be regarded as prepared for any war or conquest. In brief, the danger that Austria might suddenly invade Servia during an era of general European peace has been much lessened. And Servia might make use of this period of peace to prepare for the moment when the problem will have to be solved economically and by force of arms. But for this purpose the Austro-Hungarian market and the specially favourable commercial conditions are needed. This would be the most suitable solution of the problem of the future of Servia. It is, however, not possible—at least for the immediate future—for the following reasons: The special benefits which Servia has enjoyed in her trade with Austria have only been approved in the Austrian and Hungarian Parliaments with considerable difficulty, because the representatives of the agrarian interests regard these concessions as detrimental to themselves. The opposition to the benefits has increased with the growth of the agrarian agitation. It is nearly nine years since the leaders of the agrarians organized an energetic campaign against the benefits of the frontier traffic and against the cattle convention with Servia. The Commercial Treaty which has been negotiated, but awaits ratification, has resulted in considerably less favourable conditions for Servian exports in Austria-Hungary. And yet the Government in Vienna and Buda-Pesth find the greatest difficulty in forcing the projected measures through their Parliaments.

Both Parliaments are thoroughly agrarian, and become more strongly so from day to day. They will not hear anything about Austro-Hungarian political prestige in the Balkan Peninsula which is to be secured at the expense of agriculture. They are prepared for this to sacrifice a secure market for their industrial products. The chief resistance comes from the Slav races of Hungary, and the leading politicians who still favour the *status quo* are powerless to check this tendency. They were obliged to explain to the Servian delegates for the Commercial Treaty that there was no concession possible by means of which Servia could secure again the old benefits during the next twelve years. Austria-Hungary herself has now joined the nations dominated by a policy of agricultural protection, and thus Servia must gradually pass under the general Customs régime imposed upon all competitors in the Austro-Hungarian markets.

This development makes the struggle between the two parties in Servia whose programmes have been outlined quite objectless and useless. When Austria-Hungary no longer offers any special benefits, of what use is it to discuss further whether they should be accepted or not? The supporters of the idea of emancipation will no longer have any need to cry abroad that Servia should not be dominated by pronounced commercial intimacy with Austria-Hungary. The supporters of other ideas will no longer be obliged to advocate a policy designed to meet the wishes of Austria-Hungary. The fact that Austria-Hungary is not going to grant anything will soon reconcile the two parties. But, after all, this is only a difficulty in commercial policy. Another difficulty is much more serious, and that is that Austria-Hungary, while conceding nothing, demands, and will continue to demand, a great deal. We may say that the less she accords the more she demands. The few minor concessions which have been granted Servia had to be paid for dearly by the promise to purchase the necessary goods to satisfy certain State needs exclusively in Austria-Hungary. That was a great abuse of power, and the question how it is possible to protect ourselves in view of the Austro-Hungarian demands, which are no longer combined with concessions, is one to occupy the serious attention of all patriotic Servians.

No one should deceive himself in this question. In trade there is always one road which is most convenient and cheapest, and one market which pays the best prices. Which may be the road and which the market depends upon many and various natural and social conditions. Other ways and other markets besides the one mentioned may be found, but it is not possible to force trade to abandon the cheapest road and the

most profitable market in order to attempt another road and a less remunerative market. The best paying market for Servian agricultural produce is Central Europe, and the most convenient road is the Danube and the railway through Austria-Hungary. The value of the Danube towards the Black Sea is seriously impaired by the high tolls demanded by the Hungarian authorities for the passage of the Iron Gates. For the passage of ships from Moldava to Turn Severin (10 kilometres) a toll of twopence on each ton and kilometre is demanded for the mere right of passage without the use of a tug. When a tug is employed, one farthing more is charged on each ton and kilometre. Besides these taxes on capacity, whether a ship be freighted or not twopence (18 hellers) is paid on every 100 kilograms it carries. In addition 18s. go to pilots or sounders for every twenty-four hours. Thus a ship laden with say 600 tons pays £51 (1,220 Austrians crowns) in taxes only for the act of passing through, if it employs a tug the same ship will pay an additional £10 (240 crowns). The cost of passage through the Iron Gates is two to seven times greater than that of rail transport. All these things being considered, it must be conceded that there are few commercial problems more difficult than that of Servia. It may be solved in three ways: by means of a Central European Customs Union which would include Servia; by means of a Zollverein with Hungary, which in the near future will probably be an independent Customs unit; or by a Zollverein with the Balkan States. Which of these three solutions is the most probable and which the most to be desired for Servia are questions upon which much might be written. One thing is certain, however, and is adequately shown by the three possible solutions—that is, how little the economic fate of Servia depends upon herself.

CHAPTER XXI

LITERATURE

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THERE are three periods in Servian literature—ancient, medieval, and modern. The ancient period comprises cultivated literature from the beginning of the 13th until the end of the 15th century. It lasted a little longer than the great united Servian State, whose end was caused by the invasion of the Turks. It continued, although feebly, from beyond the limits of the Middle Ages until the 18th century. This literature is written in the ancient Slav language in Servian words—that is to say, in the language common to the ancient Bulgarian and Russian literatures, but having some phonetic qualities of the Servian language. There have been collected up to now 2,000 manuscripts which represent the production of that period, but it cannot be affirmed that there are so many works. These works are written by the monks and the priests of all ranks, very often of the highest ranks—monarchs sometimes joined them. They generally wrote in the cloisters: at Hilendar, a Servian monastery at Mount Athos; at Studenitsa, Manassia, Detchani, and many other monasteries on Servian territory. The writers imitated the Byzantine literature, which was very near them and which was very rich. It is also for that reason that the Servian literature of the ancient period represents Byzantine literature on a small scale, and that it resembled the latter also in its form of development. It embraced almost the same branches of literary production, comprising first of all pure theology, with dogma, polemics, exegesis, asceticism, mysticism, ecclesiastical rhetoric, and other literary works on Holy Scripture, the Gospels, the Psalms, the triads, the Pentateuch, etc. Here are found the works of Jean Damasquin, Jean Klimax, Simeon, the new theologian, and other important Byzantine theologians. The translation of these works was made fairly early. Apart from this theological literature, this period contains also another

special literature—grammar, natural sciences, jurisdiction. In this latter branch must be specially mentioned the Code of the Emperor Dushan (1349-1354), which represents to a very high degree the development of the Servian jurisdiction in the Middle Ages. It includes, finally, literature in the strictest sense—since we dare not employ without reserve the term of *belles-lettres*. This literature includes poetry and prose. There is very little poetry, and of real poetry—in the true sense of this word—there are a few pieces only. The Greek verses were translated into prose, like the verses of Menandre, for instance, which are preserved in the manuscripts as early as the 13th century. There is also a little Church poetry—rhythmic poetry, such as hymns of Romanos, who is *veterum melodorum princeps*, and others. Apart from translations, there exists practically nothing original in this kind of work. There is more prose, and its character is as follows: First of all novels and recitals, among which are to be found the most important works of the literature of the Middle Ages, such as 'The Trojan War,' 'Alexander the Great,' 'Varlaam and Joasaph,' the 'Life of Æsop,' 'Stephanite and Ihnilat,' 'Physiologue,' 'Avir the Wise,' 'Salomon,' etc. We find also apocryphal and hagiographic writings, among which are the legend of Adam, the vision of Enoch, the Gospel on the childhood of Christ, as well as the life of Alexis, the Man of God, Mary the Egyptian, Catherine the Alexandrine; there are original works on the lives of the Slav and Jugo-Slav saints. We find biographies of the Servian monarchs and Metropolitans, called 'ancient Servian biographies,' which represent the most important as well as the most original group of Servian ancient literary works, although one suspects, without seeing it, the influence of Byzantine models. The ancient Servian biographies deal with the following: Sava (1164-1236), known among the whole of the Servian people under the name of 'Saint Sava,' son of the Servian monarch, and author of a biography of his father, St. Simon; Stéphane (1223), brother of Sava, first Servian King, also the author of a biography of St. Simon and of a biography of St. Sava; Theodosius (13th century), author of a biography of Sava; Danilo (14th century), author of several biographies of Servian Kings and Archbishops; Grigorie (14th century), who wrote the life of King Stephen Detchanski. With the biographies must be mentioned history, which concerns typical chronicles, chronographies, and genealogies. Among these works must be mentioned as the most important the translations of the Byzantine chronicles, Georgie, Hamartol, Jean Zonara, Constantin Manassessa, and also the numerous chronicles which furnish a great deal of material to Servian history.

In the middle period, which embraces the period from the

end of the 15th century to the end of the 18th century, the literature is almost entirely centred at Ragusa (Doubrovnik), the only portion of Servian country which was free and full of culture, the others being under the Ottoman yoke. This literature was no longer written in the ancient Slav language, but in the pure Servian tongue. It is more developed than that of the previous period, and contains more real literature in the strict sense of this word than the preceding period; it contains, in fact, as much as do the foreign literatures of this time. But it has no relation with the literature of the ancient period. The literature of the ancient period was developed in the eastern half of the Servian countries (Servia, Old Servia, Macedonia), and the literature of the middle period in the western half (Ragusa and Bosnia during a certain time). The first was cultivated in the monarchical and orthodox world, and the second principally in the republican world; the former among the monks, the latter principally among the laymen of all classes. The one was guided by Byzantine examples, and the other by the examples of Italian literature, and developed under this influence. The literature of the middle period represents, with respect to the ancient literature, a quite new and independent action; it is usually called the literature of Ragusa (that of Bosnia is small, and is confined to some practically religious writers of the 17th and 18th centuries). Born at that period, and, in imitation of the Italian renaissance, developing after Italian models, it represents Italian literature in miniature, in the same way as the ancient literature represents the Byzantine. In opposition to the ancient, the literature of Ragusa specially cultivated poetry and very little prose. It includes all kinds of poetry, love-poetry first of all and in great quantities: there was scarcely a single poet of Ragusa who did not pay his tribute to this kind of poetry. Chichko Mentchevitch and George Drgitch, the two indefatigable petrarchists of the 15th century, cultivated it; it is, in fact, with them that Ragusan literature begins. A considerable number of authors continued this work in the 16th century, among the most important being Dinko Ragnina, a pupil rather of the classical than of the Italian school, to which, however, the first poets belong. In the 17th century the most important poet of this class is Ivan Bounitch, and in the 18th Ignate Djordjitch, the last of the principal Ragusan poets who wrote all kinds of poetry. Ragusan poetry includes next the religious poetry, very much cultivated also in Italy, and its principal representatives were Mavro Vetranitch (16th century), Ivan Goundoulitch, and Julius Palmotitch (17th century), and the above-mentioned Ignat Djordjitch (18th century). It includes, also, satirical and facetious poetry in general. The joyous life

of these ancient towns on the seashore evoked, especially at carnival times, the kind of songs specially cultivated by some poets, beginning with André Tchubranovitch (16th century) up to T. Djordjitch. Apart from lyric poetry, Ragusan poetry includes also epic poetry, and the latter appears after the former. The principal representative of this, who is at the same time the principal Ragusan poet—*rex illyrici carminis*—is Ivan Goundoulitch (1588-1638), whose best epic poem, 'Osman,' sings of the defeat of the young Sultan Osman and the victory of the young Polish Prince Ladislas (1621), and the death of Osman. The poem is written in the special strain of the 'Liberation of Jerusalem' of Torquato Tasso. Dramatic poetry forms not the least part of Ragusan poetry. It is also of different kinds—religious, pastoral, mythological, historical, etc. Many authors have cultivated it, among them a great number of those who have just been mentioned—Vestranitch, Goundoulitch, and, above all, Palmotitch. This kind of poetry includes the very advanced translations (as early as the 16th century) of 'Amante' of Torquato Tasso, of the 'Patre Fidèle' of Gavarini, and many other well-known works, and the original dramas of all kinds, which can be compared to the Italian dramas of that period as well. In addition to these works of the order of serious dramas, there were also fairly good comedies in verse, although generally rather short. The prose comedies were better, however, and they represent the principal production of Ragusan literature. It arrived at its culminating-point in the 16th century, with Drgitch as its foremost representative. Drgitch cultivated plaintive comedy and comedy made on actual themes. He chose the subjects for his comedies among the types and in the situations which later on Molière took—thus, for instance, the type of miser in his comedy 'Skoup,' and the situation of the deceived husband of 'George Dandin' in his anonymous comedy, etc. It is for this reason that very often whole scenes are the same in Drgitch and Molière. In the 17th century, and for a great part of the 18th, the principal theatre pieces of Molière were translated and remade. Except for comedy, Ragusan literature has as yet only a little prose, confined principally to the practically religious writings and similar matters. Political and literary history is in the Latin language, as well as philosophy and sciences. Stories such as those of Boccaccio and others unfortunately do not exist in Ragusan literature.

Although as ancient as the other European literatures, Servian literature has not their continuity. We have seen that the literary production of the middle period developed itself quite independently of the ancient period, and the literature of the new period develops itself also independently

of those of the previous periods. The literature of the ancient period was excessively religious; that of the middle period excessively local. Both were obsolete. Neither the one nor the other could satisfy the literary needs of the modern period, felt by the whole Servian people. At Ragusa intellectual culture had perished with the loss of the Ragusan Republic (in 1808); in other countries also people were beginning to feel the want of culture. This was first apparent in the Voivodina (the eastern provinces of Austria-Hungary, inhabited by Servians), where, towards the end of the 17th century, a large number of Servians had emigrated from Old Servia; then in Servia, where they began to free themselves from the Turkish domination at the beginning of the 19th century. It was in Voivodina that the Servian people felt, after several centuries, in a more favourable condition for public instruction and intellectual culture, and here made immediately the necessary effort to instruct itself in the manner of the time, and to reach the level of the literature of the time. In the course of the 18th century it founded its literature, which is the literature of the new period.

After the first beginning, which related to the elementary school literature, there appeared, in the true sense of this word, a born writer, Dossitié Obradovitch. He started at first as apprentice to a trade, but, being strongly inclined towards learning, he entered the monastery of Opovo, in Sicminin, where he passed a considerable time, and became a monk, under the name of Dossitié. Dossitié, however, was more desirous of learning than of consecrating himself to the Church. He escaped from the monastery, and visited a great many countries, living as a private school-master. He passed first through the Servian countries—Dalmatia and Montenegro—then the Balkan countries—Greece and European Turkey—and then the other Eastern countries, such as parts of Asia Minor and Smyrna. He learned a good many languages there—Greek, Latin, Italian—and he studied the moral and philosophical sciences which flourished at that time among the Greeks. Later on, still wishing to learn, and still exercising the profession of a school-master, he visited the countries of the West—Austria, Germany, France, England, and a part of Italy, where he remained about thirty years. He learned German, French, and English, and made the acquaintance of these literatures. When Servia began to free itself, he returned in 1806, and, establishing himself at Belgrade, remained there until the end of his days as a Servian man of letters, the most considered and greatest of the period, a patriarch of the modest Servian learning and culture, much as Voltaire at Ferney. He died there in 1811. His life is an example of

one of those noble spirits who begin with nothing and go far—the life of a man who has succeeded, by his extraordinary persèverance and his efforts, in rising from a simple apprentice in the Banat to an enlightened European man, in arriving at the level of the intellectual culture of his time, in mastering the moral philosophy of the 18th century and the ideas and the culture which this enlightened century has given to the world. He has left several works. The first, and perhaps the best, is his autobiography, in which he has narrated in his lively, simple, and easily understood style his interesting and exemplary life, from his birth up to his fiftieth year. This work is full of a tendency towards learning, and full of love for science. At the same time, it abounds in vehement protests against the ignorance and the idleness of the monks, which he had experienced personally, and which disillusioned him of one of the most beautiful ideals of his youth. He wrote—or, rather, he translated and remade—a collection of fables. These fables are taken from those of Æsop, Lessing, and Lafontaine, and they are accompanied by long commentaries which are veritable little moral articles, written in a lively and interesting manner. He published, also, two volumes of an interesting collection of different works. There are, first, moral, philosophical, and practical essays on patriotism, on the love of science, on the nature of man, on lying, on reading, etc., in style like those in the *Spectator* of Addison, who was one of the favourite authors of Dossitié ;* there are moral stories, translated for the most part from Marmontel, or from some other favourite author of this time ; there are facetious stories, as there is one of Gotzi ; there are Oriental tales—tales of the distant Oriental world, full of allegorics and of a fine moral and philosophic tendency, such as were then very fashionable ; and there were, finally, comedies—for instance, one of Lessing. He wrote, also, one or two works of no great importance. All his works had a great influence among the public of that period, and contributed much to the awakening and the consolidation of the literary conscience and to intellectual development among the Servians of that epoch.

Dossitié was the most important literary man of the 18th century, but there were others who were not without importance. These men of letters wrote both poetry and prose. The poetry was especially weak. They were either short occasional songs, or longer poems with a moral basis, or didactics or poems on battles, or on biblical or religious subjects. The poets are : Alexié Vésilitch, Vitchentié Rakitch, and others. The prose was better and more abundant. There were translations of the 'Belisaire' of Marmontel, 'Robinson Crusoe'

* 'The Vision of Mirsina,' by Addison, is among them.

of Defoe, etc. There are only two or three attempts at drama, and they are not original. History was more developed, and its representative was Yovan Raiitch (1726-1801), who has written, with a truly monastic industry, a voluminous history of the Servians, Bulgarians, and Croatians. It is one of those great works which appear rarely at the beginning of a literary development. The moral and philosophical essay was fairly well cultivated. Besides Dossitié, it was treated by Sachazie Orfeline, who founded the first Servian *Review* (1765), and Pavlé Solaritch, a pupil of Dossitié worthy of his master, and some others.

Such was the 18th century. It was otherwise in the 19th, where one notices two periods, which correspond to the first and second half of this century.

Under the influence of the Russian masters who founded, at the beginning of the 18th century, Servian schools in Voivodina, and laid the first stones of learning and literature, our writers of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century wrote in an impure language, which was not the language of the people, but the Russo-Slav, or Slavo-Servian, and their writings were for that reason inaccessible to the general public, who were almost illiterate. Dossitié wrote better and in a purer language, but it was necessary that it should be still purer and better. A reformation of the literary language and of the spelling was essential, and its reformer was Vuk Karadjitch. The first half of the 19th century was in general devoted to this reform. Vuk Karadjitch was born at Trchitch in 1787. Servia was still under Turkish domination, and had scarcely any schools, so that Vuk received in his childhood and in his youth very little instruction. He learned to read and write in Servian from one of his parents, using for writing a reed and powder dissolved in water, instead of a pen and ink. It was not until his eighteenth year that he entered a regular primary school, at the time of the insurrection, when he passed into Sirmium. In his twentieth year he began to attend a sort of college, going for a time to a school named the Great School, which was founded just at this time at Belgrade. In going, in 1803, to Vienna, after the defeat of Servia, Vuk made by chance the acquaintance of one of the best of Slav philologues—the Slav Jernei Kopitar—and that lover of pure, popular languages inspired in Vuk the idea of introducing the popular Servian language into literature. The idea was bold—too bold, even, when its execution was confined to a man without education, without knowledge, without culture, such as Vuk was. However, this man, 'illiterate, but generously endowed by Nature with one of the clearest intelligences,' succeeded, by enormous labour and perseverance, in acquiring the necessary knowledge,

and in preparing himself to fulfil a rôle at once so important and so difficult. This rôle proved even more arduous than Vuk had foreseen, because his reforming work encountered so many adversaries. Vuk lived, from the beginning of his work (1814) until his death (1864), a literary career, long and painful, disappointing, and full of struggles, which lasted fifty years, and which was only finally crowned by an unexampled success in the history of literature. During this period he wrote a good number of works. He began with the language. He wrote first of all the grammar : one in 1814, in which he showed for the first time the forms of the true popular language ; then another in 1818, more complete, translated later into German, preceded by a long preface, full of praises, written by Jacob Grimm. He afterwards composed a dictionary—in 1818 a fairly large one, and a second larger one in 1852—which is considered even now one of the best dictionaries in the Servian language. Finally, he wrote a large number of works on the grammar. All these writings—grammars, dictionaries, and the rest—have given a solid basis to the reform of the language. They have furnished all that was necessary to the victory of the popular language. In addition to the reforms of the language, the reform of the spelling was called for, and Vuk created in the above-mentioned writings, and in others, a pure and phonetic orthography, more logical than the Italian, one of the most perfect orthographies existent. But Vuk did not stop there. He went farther than was necessary for the reformation of the language and of the spelling. He cultivated literary criticism also, and it is from him that it dates (1817). He practised it little, but well. He wrote, also, contemporary national history. His historical works represent not only historical documents, but also models in very fine prose of plastic descriptions. He studied, also, ethnography. Some of his works are to be found in German—for example, 'Montenegro and the Montenegrins' (1837). In busying himself in translating a popular book into the language of the people, and acquiring, in fact, by this means that victory for which he had to strive so hard, he fixed his choice on the New Testament, which he translated in a masterly manner (1847). But his most important work was his collection of songs, stories, sayings, proverbs, and popular charades. There were three editions, and each new edition was better and more complete (in 1814-1815, 1823-1833, 1841-1866). There are fewer editions of the stories (1821 and 1853). The proverbs have had one edition (in 1836) ; the charades the same (in 1821). These editions of the national riches were for Vuk only aids to the reform of the language. The national poetry, for instance, was only to serve as an example of the language—

a proof of the beauty of the popular tongue, and a proof in support of his theory on the literary language. These editions and the work of Vuk have had a greater influence than was suspected at the beginning. The work of Vuk has this supreme importance: that Servia entered with Vuk into the literature which began in Voidovina, and was exclusively cultivated there. Vuk created afterwards a common literary language for the whole mass of the Servian people. This language was natural, pure, popular, and replaced the impure, mixed, half-Servian, half-Slav language which existed up to that time, and which did not correspond to any language of the Servian countries. Vuk has, finally, indirectly brought into the literature the true national spirit; he has created the basis of the national literature; he has shown the Servian poets new motives, a new metre, and a new source of poetical inspiration, non-existent until then.

If one takes into consideration the fame which our national songs have had in the literature of the world, one can understand that the work of Vuk was not only important for the Servian people, but also had to a certain extent world-wide importance. At the moment when Ossian was very fashionable, when the 'Voice of the Peoples in Song,' by Herder, enjoyed a great popularity—at the moment when the popular songs of all countries enjoyed the sympathies of the civilized world—the national Servian poetry, simple and beautiful as it was, had already an assured success. It only remained to make it known. It was Vuk who did this. He was not the first, but he did most to procure the immense success of that national poetry at the moment of its appearance. There had been before Vuk, in 1774, the Italian Abbé Alberto Fortis, who drew attention to the popular Servian songs by his translation of one of the finest Servian songs, 'Hassanaguinitsa,' in 1778-1779. Herder brought into notice, in his translation of popular songs, three Servian songs, which he considered purely national. The same year Goethe translated the 'Hassanaguinitsa.' But it was with Vuk that the first real success was obtained. In 1814-1815 Vuk edited his first collection of songs, when he was with Kopitar, who recommended with great zeal the national Servian songs to the foreign literary world. It was on this occasion that Jacob Grimm, a great friend of national literatures, became enthusiastic over Servian poetry. He began immediately to bring out these songs, to translate them, and to praise them. According to him, they are all 'very beautiful,' 'brilliant flowers,' of Homeric character and beauty. There are some which, according to him, represent the most moving songs of all peoples and all times (such as 'The Construction of Skadar

on the Boiana'). It was then that Goethe began to take a fresh interest in them. He wrote about them, he praised them; he did so in his reports, and in his conversations with Eckermann. According to him, they have many 'precious motifs,' new and quite fresh, and 'there are some which can take the same rank as the "Cantique des Cantiques,"' which he loved so much. It was then that Wilhelm Humbolt also became interested in the national Servian songs; it is then, too, that Clemens Brentano copied them and read them for his own pleasure. Mlle. Talfi, Wilhelm Gerhard, and others, have entire collections of these translations. All literary people in Germany showed a great interest in these songs; they even showed a 'real enthusiasm,' and the impression of these songs was 'livelier and deeper than any other at this period.' This interest was not confined only to Germany. The French literary world showed it in equal measure. Madame de Staël had already, in 1807, shown her sympathy for the Servian people and its songs. Charles Nodier (from 1813) translated some of these songs (' Hassanaguinitsa '), and praised them. Prosper Merimée edited a collection, but of mystifications of Servian songs, and not of the songs themselves (1827). *The Globe*, the well-known review of the new romantic school in French literature, gave its attention to the Servian songs (1827) and to the book of Merimée. A little later the celebrated Polish poet, Adam Mickiewicz, gave some enthusiastic courses on Servian songs at the College of France, at Paris, in 1840-1842. Neither did the English remain indifferent to these songs; they translated them and popularized them. John Bowring translated the Servian songs, as Talfi and Gerhard had done. The entire literary world all over Europe became interested and enthusiastic over Servian poetry. There was only the celebrated Slavist Dobrowski, the one sceptic among celebrated men, who remained astonished, and repeated constantly: 'I don't know what the world is coming to over these Servian songs.'

The literature of the period of Vuk could not be confined to the work of Vuk. The reform of the language and of the spelling was a great work, and it obliged almost all literary men to take sides, either as adherents or as adversaries; but the literature itself will not disappear amid the polemics over this reform. While bearing the impress of this reform, literature has nevertheless developed independently according to its general needs. Literary works went on their way, and some made great progress.

It was especially poetry which made great progress. Servian poetry, beginning with Loukiane Mouchitzki (1777-1837), tried to follow classical models, and to speak 'Greek and

Latin' like the muse of Ronsard, or to follow, with Sima Milutinovitch, indefined models, half classical, half national, and to stammer in singing of the deeds of the freeing of the Servians from the Turkish yoke. Servian poetry developed at first irregularly and uncertainly, and then, above all, under the influence of the work of Vuk, it passed very quickly to a national basis. There were two poets who carried Servian poetry in that direction, and who revolutionized Servian literary poetry. The first is Branko Raditchevitch (1824-1853), a young talent, light and charming, endowed with an incredible vivacity and lightness, full of peaceful, jovial, witty sentiments, sometimes with the slight sadness of an amorous heart, sometimes, though less often, with deep sentiments—foreshadowings, perhaps, of his sad destiny, which broke too soon on his noble life. Apart from lyrical songs, he wrote witty pamphlets, such, for instance, as 'Pout,' in which he ridiculed the opponents of Vuk and the new pretended poets of this time. He wrote several epic poems—'Goiko,' 'Kaidoukov Grob,' 'Stoian,' 'Outoplienitsa,' etc.—in which he is much feebler. The other poet is greater than Branko—much greater, the greatest of Servian poets—Petar Petrovitch Niegoch.

Born in 1813 at Niegoch, in Montenegro, he acquired some elementary education at Bocca di Cattaro, and he attended a free and private school of Sima Milutinovitch's at Cettigne, who was in that town during the youth of Niegoch. In 1830 he became a monk, and later a Bishop. According to the organization of the period, in this little theocratic State he held, in his quality of Bishop, princely power in his hands. As such, Prince and Bishop, he passed a long time in the solitude of Cettigne reading and reflecting, and interrupting his solitary life by long voyages in Russia, Austria, and Italy. He began very modestly by writing short, insignificant songs, for the most part in the spirit of the national poetry, especially in the spirit of Montenegrin national poetry, which was inferior to the others. He edited collections of these songs under the titles 'Poustignave tsetiguski' and 'Liek iaresti turske' (in 1834). Later, as the result of stronger and more abundant reading, which permitted him to learn foreign languages, and as the result of deeper thinking on moral and philosophical problems, Niegoch began to undertake longer and more difficult poems, and he wrote 'Loutcha Mikrokosma' (1845), a poem of elevated and philosophic thoughts founded on an episode of Milton's 'Paradise Lost.' Afterwards, in 1847, he undertook more powerful and deeper works, in form like the drama in the ancient sense. The 'Gorski Vienats' exemplifies this, in which he has celebrated an important historical event

of the beginning of the 18th century—the extermination of the pseudo-Turks and the freeing of Montenegro from the Turks. What characterizes and distinguishes this work is first of all that it is composed on the basis of the national songs, having reference to this event and its grandiose epic conception; the precision and the *plastique* in the description of the Montenegrin types, with the humour, the local colour, and the national impress; next, the boldness of the ideas, the profound philosophy of life, the pessimism and the bitterness of a great spirit, the powerful patriotism of a man sincerely devoted to his people; and, finally, a noble and splendid diction, with admirable lyric passages, with many concise, strong, full verses which shed one after the other maxims and ideas in the irreproachable form of the antique sentence. Niegoch has put into this work everything that he has felt and seen. He has put into it his personal romance—the romance of a civilized monarch who governs a half-barbarous people; of a philosopher in the midst of ignorant and unenlightened people; an enthusiastic patriot unable to do for his people what he would have wished; of a titanic spirit hindered in its flight; of a Prometheus bound, but a Prometheus 'before whose feet not a nymph has shed tears.' When an English lord, charmed by his acquaintance which he had made at Naples, asked him to give him his photograph and to write above it some verses, Niegoch gave him his photograph, but did not write any verses. 'Among us Servians,' said he, 'there is a national song which says, If the sea were to change into ink, if the sky were to change into a sheet of paper, we could not describe our sufferings.' Nevertheless, he was able to describe majestically in the 'Gorski Vienats'—the best work in Servian literature—both his personal sufferings and those of his people. After the 'Gorski Vienats' Niegoch wrote only a few songs—'Chtiepan Mali' (in 1851), a drama, not dramatized, drawn from the history of Montenegro; and he left in manuscript the 'Ilobodiada,' an epic work, also drawn from Montenegrin history, which he had composed in his youth; and the beginning of the translation of the 'Iliad' of Homer, as well as the 'Slova o polku Igorevu.' To have an idea of his elevated poetry we reproduce here a passage of the 'Gorski Vienats,' a monologue of the monk Stéphane, a blind and wise old man, one of the most noble and majestic figures of this poem. It is a pity that 'Gorski Vienats' has not been translated into English and French, as it has already been translated into German, Italian, Russian, Czech, Bulgarian, Swedish, and Hungarian.

DER BERGKRANZ.

*(Die Befreiung Montenegros. Historisches Gemalde aus dem Ende des XVII. Yahrhunderts.)**

VON PETER PETROVIC-NJEGUS, BISHOP OF MONTENEGRO.

Durchgeseibt ward ich durch
Sieb und Reuter
Diese schlechte Welt hab'ich verkostet,
Ausgetrunken ihren Wermuthsbecker,
Ausgelebt hab'ich das bittre Leben.
Alles, was es gibt und was nur möglich,
Alles hab'ich Kennen lernen mussen
Was auch komme, ich bin vorbereit'et
Alles was an Übeln hier auf Erden,
Alle sind des Menschen sichre Mitgift
Jung bist du und unerfahren, Bischof,
Ach! die grössten bittren Schmerzen lassen,
Uns die ersten Wermuthstropfen leiden.
Wenn du wüsstest, was noch deiner wartet!
Ein tyran ist diese Welt dem Harten,
Wie viel mehr noch einer edlen Seele;
Dem die Welt ist nichts, als ekle Zwietracht:
Zwietracht trennt die Seele und den Körper,
Zwietracht trennt die Meere und die Ufer,
Zwietracht trennt die Hitze und die Kälte,
Zwietracht herrschet zwischen alten Winden,
Zwietracht herrschet zwischen dem was lebet,
Zwietracht herrschet zwischen allen Völkern,
Zwietracht herrschet zwischen allen Menschen,
Zwietracht trennt die Tage und die Nächte
Zwietracht trennt die Seele und den Himmel.
Die Gewalt der Seele drückt den Körper;
Und die Seele flattert in dem Körper;
Die Gewalt des Himmels drückt die Meere;
Und die Himmel schanken in den Meeren.
Eine Welle drückt die andre stürmisch.
Beide sterben sich am Ufer brechend.
Wer hält fest das Glück und das Genügen?
Wer hält fest die Ruhe und den Frieden?
Grinsend höhnt der eine Mensch den Andern,
Wie der Affe höhnt das eigne Bildnis.

The prose of the period was weaker. The novel was a good deal cultivated, but of feeble quality. The fantastic novels of Milovan Vidakovitch (1780-1841) are types of the novel of that time. The story, less practised, was equally deficient. The drama and comedy were better. Their best example is Jovan Popovitch Stéria (1805-1856), who created some comedies in the style of Molière—the characteristic comedy of Molière, with well-studied types—the types of the miser, the affected man, the pretended literary man—but with more skill in the composition. Among his best comedies may be mentioned 'Tor-

* Translated from the Servian by T. Kirste.

ditsa,' 'Genidba i oudadba,' 'Zla gena.' This latter is a distant echo of Shakespeare's 'Taming of the Shrew.' He wrote historical dramas and tragedies of the Servian past, but he was weaker than in the comedies. The most important dramas and tragedies to be mentioned are 'Lahan,' 'The Death of Stéphane Detchanski,' and others. Besides the novels, stories, and dramas, there were other kinds of prose—history, literary criticism, talks, etc. In this kind of work the strongest generally was Vuk, and by his side may be placed T. Popovitch, D. Davidovitch, T. Steitch, and others.

The second half of the 19th century is not consecrated to an idea like the first. It has no centre, but is represented by varied work in different independent directions. Neither is it as good as the first. The first half, especially in the later years, represented in the works of Vuk, Niegoch, and Branko the best period—the classical period; the second half represents the weaker period. There appear, nevertheless, fairly often, interesting literary endeavours, which signify progress in certain branches of literature. This success exists in quality as well as quantity.

Lyric and epic poetry was very much practised. After Branko, everyone began to write verses, generally in his style. The most important poets of that period are, first, Yovan Yovanovitch Zinai (1833-1904), the most popular of all the modern poets. His amorous, patriotic, satirical, and other songs show a fine gentle poetical talent, tender, and melancholy, full of wit, with a little passion, and rarely with any depth. Later it was Dioura Yakchitch (1832-1878), who, always his rival, like Schiller and Goethe, is different to him in many respects. He has passion, strength; he has also tenderness, but he falls sometimes into declamation, and he is not skilful. Voislav Ilitch (1862-1894) is perhaps a greater artist than the above named, with a more modern spirit, with more literary motives, with a more difficult and more artistic prosody, with a special talent for the picturesque. There are also others.

Prose developed itself equally. The novel differs from that of the time of Vidakovitch, although still full of defects. There are two who are the best of its representatives—one at the beginning of the period, and the other at its end. The first is Bogoboi Atanatskovitch (1816-1858), with his novel, 'Dva idola,' which is a picture of the society of this time (1848), but which is vulgarly sentimental, conventional, whimpering, and insipid; the other is Yakob Igniatovitch (1824-1888). He wrote historical novels, and then humorous ones, finally social novels—'Tchoudan svet,' 'Vassa Rechpekt,' 'Vetchiti mladogenia,' 'Starii novi maistori,' 'Patnitsa'—which are the best;

although no true realist, he paints the *bas monde* and its decadence in dark colours and with much pessimism, and leaves thereby a strong impression despite the faults of style and composition, and, above all, the motive of the action. The story has been more practised than the novel. B. Atanatskovitch and Y. Igniatovitch, who have left a large number of stories which possess the same defects and the same qualities as their novels, are its first exponents. Then Dioura Yakchitch, who has left a large number of stories, in which he has depicted the actual life of Voidovina or of Servia ; but he has done it romantically, in an unreal manner, with exaggeration and idealism, and a great deal of declamation. Then followed Stéphane Lioubicha (1824-1878), quite different from these. He is from another country—from the depths of Dalmatia—while the above named were from Voidovina and from Servia. He is more modern, fresher, original, not following at all the literary traditions. A talented story-teller, who relates the ancient local events which have remained in the memory of the people ; he relates them simply, in simple language and style, but with vivacity, as in the national tales, with the classic prose of Vuk, and with much humour. And then Laza Lazarevitch (1851-1890), the best of the preceding, the best narrator, one of the best of the Servian writers. He has written a small number of stories—'Prvi put s otsem na ioutrégné,' 'Chkolska ikona,' 'Ou dobri tchas haidoutsi,' 'Na bounarou,' 'Werther,' 'Své tché to narod poslatiti,' 'Vétar,' 'On sna své,' etc.—but they are enduring models of a powerful design, of an unimpeachable composition, and with a style fashioned with a great deal of care. Finally, Yanko Vesselinovitch (1862-1904), who assiduously followed after Lazarevitch, especially in village stories, and who devoted his powerful talent to it, but on account of a relative lack of literary culture, and as a result of other causes, was not able to maintain the standard of his predecessor. He wrote many stories. Drama was a good deal written, though in a feeble manner—drama and tragedy more weakly than comedy. The famed Yovan Soubititch (1817-1886) worked on drama and tragedy which were drawn from the past, and which were in verse. He wrote several pieces. Afterwards, still more famous, Mathias Ban, Dioura Yakchitch, Lazar Kostitch (born in 1841), who translated and imitated Shakespeare, etc. In comedy Kosta Trifkovitch had more success (1843-1875). Trifkovitch did not continue the style of Popovitch, and his comedy is not the comedy of characters, but of intrigue. His characters do not show, do not describe types, characters, passions, but they work as simple theatre figures ; they distinguish themselves by a well-thought-out intrigue—a great art in the composition

and its taste—and by their taste. He wrote a great many little theatre pieces, and in a short time. The principal are 'Tchertitan,' 'Chkolski nadornik,' 'Lioubavno pismo,' 'Pola vina pola vode,' etc. The literary criticism was rather weak. Its best representatives are Kosta Rouvarats, then Svetislav Voulovitch, and then, among the young and more modern, Dr. Lioubomir Néditch, and others. Other branches of prose were cultivated—for instance, stories of travels, which were represented by one of the best stylists of the period—Lioubomir Nénadovitch (1826-1895). He has produced in these narratives of travels in Italy, Montenegro, Germany, and France agreeable and light reading with humorous passages.

This was the condition of literature in the second half of the last century. There is yet another literature—that of modern times and of writers who are still living.

Poetry is very well represented. Its writers show both talent and culture, though the verse is partly inspired by the French influence. It has new characteristics, both original and modern. It has more elegance in the motif and in the metre, only literary style, and especially literary pessimism, is more evident. The leading poets are Jovan Douchitch, Milan Rakitch, Mileta Yakchitch, Alexa Cantitch, Milan Courtcin, etc.

Certain branches of prose are equally good. Unfortunately, there are no novels, although there is a great opportunity, since many plots exist, local themes purely Servian, and dealing with society during this transitory and disturbed period of to-day. It is for this reason that there are many and excellent tales, sometimes showing much talent, sometimes a considerable amount of culture. They are usually realistic, and contain many detailed descriptions. They contain interesting characters drawn from all the countries inhabited by the Servian people, not only in the kingdom of Servia, but also Bosnia, Herzogovina, Montenegro, and Slavonia. Unfortunately, this literature deals too exclusively with descriptions of villages and smaller towns, and there do not exist studies of the more complex society better known to us. The principal writers of this school are Sremac, Simo Matavouli, Borissav Stankovitch, Ivo Tchipiko, Svetozar Tchorovitch, Peter Kotchitch, Veljko Militchevitch, Radoye Domanovitch (allegorical tales and political satire), etc. The drama is poorly represented. Historical plays are dealt with by indifferent writers, who do not succeed in withdrawing it from the circle of patriotic melodrama. Comedy is fairly vulgar, although with accurate characteristics of our life. Social comedy has scarcely been touched, but what has been done has been successful. The principal writers are Branisslav Nuchitch and Ivo Voinovitch.

Literary criticism is good. Instead of the former critic, kind, patriarchal, and patriotic, which praised indiscriminately everything national, the present-day critic is, with few exceptions, modern, serious, just, and conscientious. An entire generation has sprung up in the ideas of St. Beuve, Taine, and Lemaitre, and possesses fine description, taste, culture, erudition, and much style. The principal writers of the *genre* are Bogdan, Popovitch, Jovan, Skerlitch, and others. Such are general characteristics of Servian literature.

CHAPTER XXII

ART

By MICHEL VALTROVITCH

Director of the National Gallery

In surveying the work accomplished in the field of art by the Servian people during the entire period of their historical and intellectual existence, we come upon two phases separated by centuries from each other. The products of both are animated by an identical spirit—the spirit of real art; they are also similar in subject and in the goal attained, for both follow faith, and serve the purpose of elevating and fortifying the soul. Again, according to the general estimate formed about them and the position accorded to them in the world, they are closely bound up with one another, for they form an indispensable and inseparable part of all national life. The first phase of Servian art embraces the results obtained from the time of the adoption of Christianity—when first attempts were made—until the middle of the 15th century; the second phase, from the beginning of the past century up to the present day, shows the revival of the artistic spirit coincident with that of political freedom in this one portion of the Servian race. The period of four centuries which separates these two phases was one of great sufferings under Turkish domination, when there was no possibility of developing art or art's achievements. But the love of art already created in the first period, and fostered by existing creations, afforded some consolation to the Servian people, and giving them greater confidence in their own moral strength, and in the thought of ultimate deliverance, blossomed forth as the expression of a general, national, and spiritual necessity as soon as the Servians had secured their freedom. It seemed to be the continuation of the spiritual and indispensable national work which, interrupted by the past sorrowful centuries, nevertheless found an outlet in a humbler direction, with the distaff and the embroidery-frame, in the workshops of the tailors (Terziye), the embroiderers, smiths, cutlers, and other craftsmen. With

the general national tendency towards a more advanced organization of the State, Servian art also followed in the footsteps of contemporaries, and modernized itself, thus doing what ancient Servian art had done when it became the disciple of the great and influential Byzantine culture.

Turning to the history of art in Servia, it is interesting to note the effect of Byzantium upon the Servian art of the first period. After numerous attacks on the Byzantine Empire, by consent of Emperor Heraclius (610-641), the Servians and Slav tribes settled in the western portion of the Balkan Peninsula, where they naturally fell under the cultural influence of its Byzantine, Latin, and half-Latinized inhabitants. The energetic labour of the Greek and Roman priesthoods caused the Servians to receive by degrees all the spiritual and material advantages, the fruits and possessions of the Christian faith, and with these they also adopted art. The confessors of the Greek or Eastern Church, the inhabitants of Zagorye, had adopted the forms and structures of Byzantine, and the confessors of the Roman or Western Church in Pomorye those of Western art. Religious, political, and social circumstances occasionally caused a blending of Byzantine and Western forms in a work of art whose value is thus often enhanced. This blending is especially found in architectural monuments, and therein lies the characteristic significance of ancient Servian church architecture of a certain period. But it is only in the monuments of the 12th century that one is able to realize the standard reached by ancient Servian art. All that the Servians had accomplished until then in their gradual development is still unknown, for it lies in the Servian regions under Turkish rule, where the disorganization is such that it is impossible to make any scientific research. Travellers who are, however, not specialists in this branch tell us that these monuments are in ruins, and that some were built of choice material, such as marble. Up to the present day the Servian monuments which have been examined and studied are to be found within the limits of the kingdom of Servia. The church of the monastery of Studenitsa, which is about the oldest art monument in the kingdom, stands forth for its excellent architectural qualities. It is of polished marble, and was built during the last ten years of the 12th century. The excellent impression created by this church is not due to its size, for it is not large: it is based on its form, its fine proportions, its structure, and the particularly minute and tasteful design of its sculptural decorations. The cupola, on a polygonous tambour, gives the chief architectural characteristic, together with the large semicircular windows divided by two pillars, both dispositions being particularly distinctive of the Byzantine

style. The plan of its structure in the shape of a cross is the general Christian form, and its portals—the main western and those at the northern and southern extremities under the cupola—are, by their design and engravings, similar to those of the Western churches of the period built in the so-called Roman style. Like these, the chief entrance of the Studenitsa church is composed of several pillars, some of which rest on lions; again, the abutments and arcs are adorned with symbolical ornaments—whether in rounded plasticity or in relief—such as abound in churches of the Roman style. These ornaments are also to be found on the outside of the church under the eaves, together with a row of tiny semicircles. According to modern historical views, the church of Studenitsa combines the characteristic forms of both Byzantine and Roman styles. The union being premeditated and harmonious, it affords an important proof of the knowledge, capacity, and taste of the artists. The founder's confidence in their abilities, and his appreciation of a beautiful work of art, also serve to assure the observer of the excellent qualities with which he was endowed when he expressed his moral sentiments and spiritual aims in this fine edifice. Both sentiments and aims were earnest, clear, and defined, and their architectural realization was effected in the thoughtfully and harmoniously conceived beauty of the church of Studenitsa. The church itself gives a brilliant finish to the virile sketch, given by history, of the founder, Grand Jupan Stevan Nemanya (1168-1196). He is depicted as a just, wise, and energetic ruler, extending and consolidating his State, defending the purity of the Orthodox faith, and protecting its followers—a man, in fact, whose entire work lays down and defines a healthy and prudent course to be pursued by his successors on the throne. Thus, towards the middle of the 14th century, these succeeded in creating a powerful rival to the Byzantine Empire.

Most of the other churches built by Nemanya are beyond the boundaries of the actual kingdom, in territories which formed part of his dominions. They are known to us only by travellers' descriptions. The church built by Nemanya in honour of St. Nicholas, and whose ruins are seen near the little town of Kurshumliya, must have been notable. Here, too, the architectural form was given by a blending of Byzantine and Roman elements. An extensive cupola on a firm quadrangular pedestal and two almost entirely ruined quadrangular towers on the western side of the church testify that the edifice must have been of a fair size, which is confirmed by the length of the ruined nave which at one time connected the cupola with the towers. Ashlars, bricks, and cement are employed in this church, after the well-known fashion characteristic

of Byzantine architecture, which tends towards a decorative exterior.

Jitcha, the coronation church of the Servian Kings, has lost much of its originality, both as regards form and structure, owing to awkward repairs in the past century. It was built by Nemanya's son Stevan, who was crowned therein in 1220 by his youngest brother, St. Sava, Archbishop and head of the independent Servian Church. The forms of Western are more pronounced than those of Eastern church architecture in this extensive monastic church, with its one large and two small cupolas, and its triple-naved, ruined narthex, on whose western side stands a tower.

The church of Gradats shows a decided tendency to adopt the Roman style, with its counterfeit (for they are constructively unjustifiable) arched vaults and supporting pillars. It was built by Queen Helen (1314), wife of King Urosh (1242-1276), and relative of the reigning family of France. One's interest in the construction is further increased by the fine workmanship of its tufa walls, its carefully designed marble abutments, and its Roman columns with capitals.

During the first half of the 14th century some still finer churches were produced in this artistic architectural union and combination of East and West. Within the kingdom there is the church of St. Achilles (at Arilye), built by King Urosh (1242-1276) and his son Dragutin (1276-1281), and beyond the frontier, in Old Servia, lies the monastic church of Detchani, whose praise is sung in the national songs, and which is superior to the church of Studenitsa in height, in material, and in its artificial sculptural decorations. It was built by King Stevan Detchanski (1321-1331). It seems as though King Milutin (1281-1321), father of Stevan Detchanski, had abandoned the traditions of the House of Nemanya with regard to church architecture, for judging by the edifices he raised, and which to-day can be recognized, he must have taken the models for his churches purely from Byzantine art. Of these, the small and simply designed, but nevertheless interesting, chapel built in honour of the Blessed Virgin's parents, SS. Joachim and Anne, which lies in the courtyard of the monastery of Studenitsa, and the church of Gratchanitsa, with its slender domes, in the Kossovo Plain, are the best examples.

The great abundance of Byzantine models at that period may have been a natural result of political circumstances which were strongly influenced by King Milutin, an iron-willed ruler, energetic, active, and able, who always pursued the goal he had in view. He extended his dominions to the detriment of the Byzantine Empire, by delivering the small Servian States from Byzantine domination, and integrating them with his own

powerful State. The Oriental tendency and copious examples of Byzantine art were bound to lessen the influence which the West had hitherto exercised on Servian art. The results of this circumstance are no doubt the church edifices within the kingdom built during the 14th century, which bear the exclusive marks of Byzantine art. They form a separate group, and are interesting for the resemblance between them and for their fundamental plan, as well as for their architectural structure and exterior aspect. Their foundations each take the shape of a cross formed by quinquangular apses at the eastern, northern, and southern sides; the western extremity is terminated by a larger or smaller narthex. In their structure and exterior the chief feature is the tall, slender, polygamous tambour rising in the centre, with its cupola, around which there are frequently as many as four similar smaller tambours and a low tambour, with cupola above the narthex. In smaller churches the tambour reposes on bands, and in larger churches it is supported on pillars.

The exterior aspect of these churches is very pleasing, for they are composed of multicoloured, tastefully assorted materials—ashlars, bricks, and mortar. The proportions are fine, and the decorations rich, the larger and smaller arcs on the columns giving harmonious enlivenment to the whole. The large and small sculptured roses placed under the arcs are also a great addition. These churches are not large, but that in no wise diminishes the effect of their architecturally correct conception, which has been worked out in detail by rich fancy, refined taste, and conscientious care. The labour of projecting new plans for the various churches having been evaded, the architect devoted himself to countless designs for novel decorations—of entwining leaves, flowers, and roses, and of arcs and abutments. These churches are few in number, and have, for the most part, been built by members of the House of Tsar Gasar (1372-1389), who came to rule over the Servian State at the death of Emperor Urosh (1371), the last Nemanyitch. Tsar Gasar built his own church (the palace church) in Krushevets; he also built the monastery of Ravenitsa (1380). His wife, Tsaritsa Militsa, erected the monastery of Gubostinye, and their son, despot Stevan (1398-1427), built the monasteries of Kalenitch and Manassiya.

The chisel of the engraver, ever deft and active in the exterior decorations of the old Servian churches, was only rivalled by the equally deft and firm brush of the painter, whose frescoes decorate the interior. The solemn and brilliant, serious and rich impression produced by the old Servian frescoes can perfectly well be compared with that created by the fine qualities of Byzantine church paintings. The

ikons, with scenes from the lives of the saints, and characters representing various celestial beings, attract one's attention by the excellency of the drawing and composition, the vividness of their colourings, and the harmony which pervades the whole. The paintings in Jitcha must be mentioned for their beauty, and because they are nearly all well preserved. Byzantine church art leaves no room on its churches for sculptured figures. It is the same with Servian church architecture, and the raised lions and griffins on the churches of Studenitsa and Detchani are ornaments of the Roman style, to whose influence are also doubtless due the raised images of the Blessed Virgin with the Christ on the churches of Studenitsa and Kalenitch.

Old Servian art was also the pupil of the Byzantine in small articles of metal, ivory, wood, and other material. Proofs of this are the carved crosses, sacred vessels, ikons of wrought metal, bells, written and sketched books of parchment or paper, etc. Some of these relics are preserved in the monasteries, and others are to be seen at the National Museum in Belgrade.

All that has been said so far about old Servian art only gives a general notion of the cultural life of the Servian people during these four centuries—from the 12th to the 15th century—and of its progress and attainments. Animated and guided by the religious sentiments which prevailed throughout the East and West during the Middle Ages, heads of the State thought it only performing part of their princely duties to erect monasteries and churches even beyond the limits of their dominions; to confer donations on sanctuaries and celebrated churches in both the East and West; to found hospitals and support doctors; to build forts and palaces, and to make roads and bridges. In their solicitude for the social order and spiritual progress of the nation, they introduced justice and made laws; they protected and aided the monasterial schools, where there were rooms for writing and illuminating books. Among the Servian rulers there were some who wrote books themselves, and there were many who, abandoning the throne, ended their days in one of the monasteries they had built.

It was not the fate of the Servian nation to pass from the Middle Ages to modern times by a natural development of its existence as a State. Political conditions in the Balkan Peninsula during the second half of the 14th century prevented this possibility, and threw the nation into an unhappy dependence on the newly-formed Mohammedan power. The first dangerous blow was dealt in 1389, when, at the military defeat of Kossovo, the Serbs lost their Tsar Lazar. The ultimate consequence of this was the loss of State independence

in 1459, which terminated the period of ancient Servian culture, since, falling under the Turkish yoke, the Servian nation lost the further possibility of a successful internal development. The ill-feeling of the Mohammedans toward the Christians caused the Servians to undergo, during those four centuries, all the sufferings and evils which are the lot of the slave belonging to a merciless master. Yet the Servians did not succumb under the weight of their misery; on the contrary, their sufferings and the remembrance of their past, and their longing for freedom, urged them to resistance. Thus, after various attempts during the course of its four hundred years' slavery, the Servian nation commenced, in the beginning of the last century (1804), its laborious but ultimately successful struggle for independence, and secured for itself those conditions and rights necessary to the existence of an independent State. In the beginning of their arduous task of self-deliverance, under arms though they were, the Servians opened schools, and the number of these increased with every foot of ground that was recovered. Even in 1808 a high school was opened in Belgrade, which, from the number and standard of the subjects taught, ranked as a gymnasium. When, in 1830, the organization of the Servian nation as an independent State under the supreme power of the Sultan was recognized, they were able to undertake in peace that development for which they had fought. There ensued an energetic restoration of monasteries and churches, and a revival of church paintings, while school and State buildings were erected. In this both native and foreign builders and decorators took part, the former preserving the traditional ideas and tastes, and the latter introducing modern ideas and knowledge into Servia. Modern style gradually gained ground in public as well as private works, and modern Servian architecture and decoration are copies of the best in European centres. Among a fair number of older and younger architects may be mentioned the late Alexander Bugarski, who built the King's Palace, the National Theatre, and other public edifices; John Ilkitch, to whose credit stand the Home of St. Sava and the Officers' Club; Svesosar Ivatchkovitch, and Dushan Jivkovitch. The State Mortgage Bank, an excellent and monumental edifice, completed a few years ago, was built by Andrew Stefanovitch, Professor of Architecture at Belgrade University. The sensational in architecture is represented by Milan Antonovitch.

The renaissance of Servian painting began at the commencement of the last century. It was chiefly devoted to church subjects, and adhered to the types of saints and scenes that had been preserved in the churches for centuries. Portrait-

painting soon began to serve a valuable purpose in preserving the faces of those men who had rendered services to their country. These two branches of painting were adopted by Servians studying at the various academies of Europe, they being the two forms of art most in request; but this limited point of view of art soon widened, until to-day the art movement in Servia is pregnant with all the aspirations of the age, toward the fulfilment of which her students in the art schools of Munich, Vienna and Paris work by the various paths which their own artistical opinions and technical abilities permit them.

The following are some of the best-known artists and their most important works: Demetrius Avramovitch (1815-1855) and Paul Simitch (1818-1876) are regarded as having been successful in church painting; Stevan Todorovitch, born in 1832, deserves full praise as a painter of portraits and church and historical scenes; George Krstitch, born 1851, is noted for his deep, warm colouring and characteristic appreciation of the scenes he depicts. His best-known paintings are 'St. Sava blessing the Youth of Servia' and the 'Storming of Stalatch.' In church decorating he was the first to use the models of ancient church-painting. The works of Urosh Preditch, born 1857, are remarkable for the harmony of their colouring, precise drawing, thoughtful design, and careful work. He is an able portrait painter, and in his ikons an imitator of the old Servian church type.

The most celebrated of Servian painters, by the abundance and quality of his work, is Paul Yovanovitch, born 1859. His paintings have made his name well known in European, American, and Australian art collections. His subjects are scenes from life in Montenegro, Herzegovina, Albania, and the East. The artistic traits and qualities of these scenes are depicted with a rare precision in drawing, and a charming harmony of warm and vivid colour. The value of his historical scenes has also been fully recognized. One of these, 'The Coronation of Tsar Dushan' (1845), is in the gallery of the Belgrade Museum. Notable among Belgrade artists is Marko Murat, born 1864, an impressionist. His portraits, scenes of national life and of history, are remarkable. An excellent painting is his 'Tsar Dushan's Entry into Ragusa.' Scenes from the period of the Turkish domination are depicted in two well-known paintings by Rista Vukanovitch (born 1872). They are 'The Council of the Dahias' and 'The Sentenced Prisoner in his Cell.' Both show power of appreciation and harmonious colouring and the technical knowledge of the painter. Among women artists, Madame Betty Vukanovitch is distinguished by her serious artistic capacities and her

knowledge in the various fields of art as applied to craft. She paints portraits, scenes of daily life, flowers, and similar subjects. She is also clever in engraving metal.

Sculpture in Servia is principally used in connection with the public works and buildings. It has produced worthy smaller and larger reliefs, busts and monuments in honour of deserving men on the battle-field or in the domains of science, art, poetry, etc. Among successful sculptors are Peter Ubavkitch, born 1850, whose various marble and bronze works can be seen in public and private collections. He was a student in Vienna, Munich, and Rome. George Yovanovitch, born 1861, who studied in Vienna, Munich, and Paris, executed a large bronze monument to the heroes who fell at Kossovo, 1389; also a monument in Belgrade to the scientist Pantchitch, and one in Passorovits to Prince Milosh. There is an excellent study of the human body by Simeon Roksanditch (born 1874) at Belgrade Museum, representing a slave in chains striving to tear the fetters off his hands. Roksanditch has also executed a bronze monument to the heroes who lost their lives for freedom at Vranja (1878). He studied at Agram, Buda-Pesth, and Munich.

The other branches of art—music, poetry, and dancing—are likewise cultivated with success in Servia. They also find good models in the past for modern artistic creations, according to the direction and sense of modern thought and feeling. For the Servian nation remains true to the tendency displayed in the Middle Ages—to be a devoted and earnest participator in the universal labour for the progress of humanity.

CHAPTER XXIII

DIPLOMACY AND FOREIGN POLICY

By MILENKO VESNITCH

Servian Minister in Paris

The first legislation relating to the organization of the Servian Ministry of Foreign Affairs is found in the Constitution granted to Servia by the Sultan the 12th to 24th December, 1838. According to this, the Prince of Servia shall organize a special Chancery, the direction of which shall be entrusted to his representative. This official shall deliver passports, and direct the relations existing between Servians and the foreign authorities. He is, as will be seen, a sort of Chancellor of the Principality, and at the same time Minister of Foreign Affairs. Another Article of the same Constitution foresees the choice of a diplomatic agent who will be stationed at the Sublime Porte, charged with the affairs of the Servian people, in conformity with the intentions of the Sultan and the institutions and privileges of Servia. According to the Organic Statute of the Council of State of the Principality of Servia of the 9th of May, 1839, this representative of the Prince, Minister of Foreign Affairs, is *ex officio* a member of this corporation, like the other Ministers, having a consulting voice in its deliberations, without the right of vote. The Regulation of the Princely Chancery is dated the 10th of June (29th of May) of the same year. Here are found defined the functions of this high dignitary, which it will not be without interest to enumerate here. Thus, it is his duty to bring to the Prince's knowledge all that it is necessary for the latter to know, and to preserve him from all action contrary to the Constitution, to the laws and institutions of the country; he has the general direction of the relations existing between Servians and the foreign authorities, and is charged with the direct correspondence with these latter; he delivers passports to Servians who desire to travel in foreign countries; he sees that the passports which are delivered according to the Hatichérif of the Sultan, based upon the treaties existing

between the Sublime Porte and the Imperial Court of Russia, protector of Servia, be respected everywhere beyond the frontier of the Principality, so that their bearers may not be hampered in their movements in foreign countries; also, he has to protect each Servian individually against injustices and oppressions on the part of the foreign authorities, and to watch over Servian rights and privileges in general. It is he who is charged with the correspondence with the agencies to be created abroad, and especially with the representative of Servia at Constantinople, and with the instructions to be given to this latter 'in conformity with the Imperial intentions and the institutions and privileges of Servia,' for the integrity of which he assumes all responsibility before the Prince, as well as before the Council of State; he is also charged with the written authorizations to be granted to Servians who wish to emigrate from the Principality, on conditions which shall be fixed subsequently by special laws. In addition to all this, he is vested with the functions of Chancellor of Orders—*i.e.*, it is he who shall authorize the wearing of foreign decorations, Servia not yet possessing any at that time. It is he also who decides cases of foreigners requesting permission to take up their abode in Servia. He keeps and causes to be observed the treaties concluded between foreign countries and the Ottoman Porte, so far as they relate to Servia; and last, but not least, proposes to the Prince the nomination of the staff of the foreign agencies, as well as of the Princely Chancery. This latter is composed of a director and the necessary number of secretaries and other subordinate functionaries, even of couriers. After the enumeration of the duties and functions of each class of these functionaries comes the following provision, which, by its originality, merits to be cited: 'In addition, all functionaries shall be bound in the case of a fire in the Chancery itself or in its neighbourhood to hasten thereto, in order to save the public documents. Only those are exempt from this duty whose house or habitation should at the same time be in a like danger, and who would, therefore, be obliged to occupy themselves with their own troubles.'

According to the Organic Statute Regulating the General Administration of the Servian Principality of the same date, the representative of the Prince, Minister of Foreign Affairs, is charged at the same time with the presidency of the Council, composed of three members in addition to himself—of the Ministers of the Interior, of Finance, and of Public Instruction and Justice—who is at the same time Keeper of the Seals. It is only with time and with the development of public life that administrative affairs have become more complicated and

more intense, and the number of Ministries has increased, the Ministry of Justice being separated from that of Public Instruction, the Ministry of War and of Public Works from that of the Interior, and the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce from that of Finance. For the same reasons, and by the same evolution, the Princely Chancery was detached from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Time has also done away with the title of Representative of the Prince, which has been replaced by that of President of the Council. Although the latter generally holds also the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, this is not from any legal necessity, the Constitution of 1903 (1888) even providing for a President of the Council without portfolio.

According to the law now in force, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Servia is divided into three sections—political, administrative, and that relating to accounts, to which has become attached the Consular section. The representation at Constantinople has been followed by successively diplomatic agencies and legations at Bucarest, Vienna, St. Petersburg, Athens, Paris, Berlin, London, Rome, Cettigne, and Sofia, and in 1907 the creation of a diplomatic agency and a Consulate-General at Cairo was decided upon. Some of these representations have at different times been of a provisional character. With the recognition of the independence of Servia at the Congress of Berlin, and especially with its re-formation as a kingdom, the Servian diplomatic service has become more important. There has, besides, been added thereto since then a Consular Service, spread over all the countries of Europe, America, and Africa. This last is of two categories, as in other countries, but its principal importance lies especially in the provinces of Turkey in Europe, whose population is mostly Servian. The present Servian Diplomatic Service is organized after the pattern of that of the countries of the second order of Western Europe, such as Belgium, Denmark, and Holland.

The foreign representation of Servia, brought to life again in the 19th century, shows in the broad lines of its evolution the history of the country itself. It is at the same time the expression of Servia's entire foreign policy, and thereby that of the whole Servian people. In support of this statement, it suffices to mention a few facts : During the whole of the period of the First Revolution (1804-1813) the foreign affairs of the Servia of Karageorges were conducted by men (Philipovitch and Jugovitch) who were not originally of Servia, where at that time there were no men competent in such matters, since up to those days no schools had existed for the Servians of Turkey. In the same way the first Servian representatives

abroad—Rado Vucinitch and Skuljevitch at Paris, and Itchko at Constantinople—did not come from Servia proper, the first being from Carlstadt, the second from Herzegovina, and the last from Southern Macedonia. This fact presents at the same time the best proof of the solidarity of all the Servian countries in the work of national emancipation undertaken in the Sumadija. Even after the year 1815 the principal collaborateurs of Prince Milosh on this subject—Davidovitch and Zivanovitch—were from the Servian countries under Austro-Hungarian dominion, whilst A. Petronijevitch was from Old Servia, Christitch from Macedonia, and Marincovitch from Bosnia. Among the most important statesmen who have been at the head of Servia's foreign policy there are only two—J. Garashanin and J. Ristitch—who had their origin in the present Servia. Even among the number of the present representatives of Servia abroad, one only — M. Nenadovitch at Constantinople—has his origin in the kingdom ; all the others come from countries outside of the one which they represent, and that are under Turkish or Austro-Hungarian dominion. This fact is sufficient in itself to throw a light upon the spirit of the foreign policy of Servia, as, in spite of the small geographical size of Servia during the whole of the 19th century, its general policy has essentially been somewhat wide, since it embraced more or less the whole of the Servian race. Its most authorized representative, Ilija Garashanin, went still further. Leaning on the support of the Liberal Powers of the West, he worked at the creation of a Servo-Bulgarian State which would have been strong enough to offer by itself a sufficient guarantee of the independence of the Balkanic peoples, embracing in the same organism the Servo-Croats and the Bulgarians, and forming thereby a country of about 12,000,000 inhabitants. The great Croatian patriot, Monseigneur Strossmayer, Archbishop of Djakovo, was also one of the apostles of this policy. And men of authority and importance, such as Cavour, Kossuth, Napoleon III., Bismarck, Gladstone, and Gortchakoff, were at different moments very favourably inclined towards these tendencies. This also presents one of the characteristic features which causes Servia to have had, since its resurrection, much resemblance to Piedmont and to its rôle in the creation of the Italy of to-day.

Whilst the Servians struggled first under Karageorges and afterwards under Milosh against the immensely superior power of Turkey in the territory of the Servia of to-day and beyond its frontiers, on the fields of Sienitsa and Novi Bazar, their emissaries made pilgrimages from Constantinople to St. Petersburg, and from Vienna to Frankfort, endeavouring

to find a means of assuring by an international recognition that which, with so much trouble and sacrifice, they had conquered on the fields of battle, and of interesting the European Powers in the lot of Servia and of the Servian people. And while, by its Article 8, the Treaty of Bucarest in 1812 had formally guaranteed for the first time a sort of autonomy to Servia, the following year had destroyed everything which had been acquired during a life and death struggle of ten years' duration; and it is thus that at the end of 1814 and in the spring of 1815 the representatives of the Servian people were again seen knocking at all the doors of the great European areopagus assembled at Vienna, with the object of interesting them in the lot of Servia, which was, to the majority of them, at this epoch an unknown land, which they were careful not to catch sight of, fearing fresh complications, and turning a deaf ear to the grievances of its envoys. It was not until 1826 (7th of October) that, by an explanatory Convention in execution of the Treaty of Bucarest, Turkey promised Russia to settle 'by common consent with the Servian Deputies the demands . . . of this people, as also all others which may be made to it by the Servian deputation, and which were not contrary to the duties of the subjects of the Ottoman Empire.' Three years later it was again necessary to force the Porte (at Adrianople, 1829) to recognize explicitly these rights, and it was only by the Hatichérif of 1830 that the Sultan Mahmoud did so definitely. Again, three years later, at the Conference at Constantinople (May, 1833), the frontiers of the Principality were rectified and defined as they remained until the Treaty of Berlin of 1878.

From the first embryo of its autonomous existence until the Congress of Paris in 1856, Servia remained under the exclusive protection of Russia and of the suzerain Turkey. By the treaty then concluded in Paris this protection was assumed by the great European Powers, whilst the suzerainty of the Porte continued to subsist. The events of 1862 (the bombarding of the town of Belgrade by the Turkish garrison of the fortress) served as a pretext for Europe to aid Servia to free itself from the last remnants of Turkish rule in releasing it (1867) from the military occupation of certain fortified places in the Principality, whilst the general Servian movement of 1875 brought Servia and Montenegro to declare war against Turkey in June, 1876, in which Russia intervened in 1877, and which was ended first by the Treaty of San Stéfano and afterwards by that of Berlin, which enlarged Servia by four departments, and recognized independence under certain conditions, which it has very conscientiously carried out, in spite of the great sacrifices which have been imposed upon it. In

1882 Servia reconstituted itself a kingdom with the unanimous consent of the Great Powers.

The Servians were the first among the Balkan peoples to inaugurate the struggle for emancipation from the Ottoman yoke, even as Servia was the last among the Balkan States to succumb to the Turkish invasion in the 15th century, after desperate struggles which have remained memorable in the histories of these countries, and which have merited the general admiration of entire Europe. For fully ten years (1804-1813), by a desperate struggle, and in spite of many trials and difficulties, little Servia lived its own autonomous and independent life, thereby giving to the civilized world an incontestable proof of the vital force of the Servian race. Again brought to life in 1815, Servia soon organized itself—much sooner than Greece—into an autonomous Principality, and served as a beacon of political liberty to the other Balkan peoples. That was a natural and almost inevitable reason for the great European Powers to interest themselves in this country and its people, to which its national songs, which have provoked the enthusiasm of the intellectual *élite* of the West, uniting in the same admiration Fortis and Tommaseo in Italy, the brothers Grimm and Goethe in Germany, Chateaubriand and Dozon in France, and, later on, Gladstone and Tennyson in England, have contributed in a great measure. The illiterate first chiefs of the restoration of Servia, Karageorges and Milosh Obrenovitch—the first by his warlike genius and the second by his aptness for administration—also contributed much to the fact that at the Courts of Europe an interest began to be taken in this little country. Napoleon I., and later on Lord Palmerston, were the first whose attention was drawn towards Servia and the Servian people. From that came quite naturally the desire to observe it closely and to counteract rival influences. It is not improbable that these interests have also been provoked by the fact that the Servian Princes have always destined to their diplomatic service the best and most capable men of their country. It is thus that one of the best Servians, Constantin Nicolaievitch, was for many years the diplomatic agent of the Principality at Constantinople, where, later on, he was replaced by Ristitch. It is also thus that Milutin Garashanin was Minister at Vienna and at Paris, where he died; that another of the famous men of the country, Stoyan Novacovitch, was twice at Constantinople, and afterwards at Paris and at St. Petersburg, as was also General Grouitch. It is in this career that G. Simitch, the present representative of the kingdom at Vienna, where he replaced Michel Vouitch, the best Servian economist, now in Berlin, passed nearly all his years of service—to speak only of the principal names.

Russia, as was, indeed, quite natural, was the first to send diplomatic agents to Servia. She was followed closely by Austria-Hungary, the great neighbouring Power. It is interesting to note that England was the first among the great Western Powers to be represented at Belgrade, and it is noteworthy that its first agent, Colonel Hodges, occupied a preponderating position from the moment of his arrival in the little Principality in 1837. He endeavoured to uphold the Liberal and progressive tendencies of the country against his Russian and Austrian colleagues, who rather followed the politics of Metternich. The French also soon commenced to interest themselves more closely at this epoch in Servian affairs. The regular Consular and diplomatic representation of foreign Powers in Servia followed in its progression the development of the country itself. From the moment of the acknowledgment of its independence (1878), and especially since the proclamation of the kingdom (1882), the following Powers have accredited Envoys Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary to the Court of Belgrade : Germany, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Bulgaria (diplomatic agent), the United States of America, France, Great Britain, Greece, Holland, Italy, Persia, Roumania, Russia, and Turkey. The importance of the diplomatic post of Belgrade in general European politics is most clearly shown by the fact that nearly all the Powers send very capable diplomats there. It is thus that the eminent Austro-Hungarian statesman, B. de Kallay, commenced his brilliant career at Belgrade, where one of his successors has been Count Khevenhuller-Metsch, the present Ambassador at Paris. The distinguished French Ambassador, the Marquis de Reverseaux, familiarized himself at Belgrade with the Eastern question, on which he is singularly competent, and he was preceded at this post by his learned compatriots, Ed. Engelhardt and, René Millet. One of the most important British Ambassadors at Constantinople, Sir William White, commenced his diplomatic career at Belgrade in 1876. The distinguished Italian diplomat, Comte Tornielli, was also Minister in Servia, with which he concluded the first international treaty made by this country since its independence. The head of the foreign politics in Russia at this moment, Izvolski, has also passed through Belgrade, as well as another of his predecessors, Churchin.

Politically emancipated in 1878, Servia has devoted itself during recent years to its economic emancipation, and therefore its diplomacy has to-day a new and very important task. To this it must also be added that in Servia public opinion and the Parliament take much more interest to-day than formerly in questions of foreign politics. Remarkable works and studies

have been published upon Servian foreign policy, both in Servia (Ristitch, Bogisitch, etc.) and abroad (Nil Popoff in Russia, Ranke in Germany, Saint-René Taillandier in France, Cuniberti in Italy, etc.). Besides, the Royal Academy of Belgrade has published a great quantity of material relating to these questions, notably a part of Colonel Hodges' correspondence with the Foreign Office, copied and edited by Chedo. Mijatovitch, formerly Servian Minister at the Court of St. James, one of the most talented historians of the country.

A complete study of the foreign policy of Servia does not yet exist. Only when such a history is written will one be able to see through what evolutions she has been obliged to pass, and how much she has been obliged to balance between Scylla and Charybdis—between the legitimate aspirations of the Servian people on the one hand and the opposing tendencies and influences on the other; between the strife for supremacy in Servian and Balkan affairs in general; between the Eastern and Western Powers of Europe, and particularly between Russia and Austria-Hungary. It is only then that the impartial observer will be able to arrive at a conclusion on the great delicacy and greater responsibility of Servian diplomacy arising alone from the geographical situation of Servia, placed now, as in the Middle Ages, between the East and the West, as between the hammer and the anvil. This geographical situation not being of a nature to be altered, the foreign policy of Servia should tend towards a general development of the vital forces of the Servian people, which offers more and more positive guarantees of its aptitude and of its devotion to general progress. She can look the future in the face the more tranquilly from the fact that she will always be followed by the sympathies of the whole Servian race, without respect to the power of which one or the other of its groups may form a political part. And this policy can the more count upon the encouragement of enlightened Europe in that it will never be a policy of conquest, but simply and sincerely a policy of preservation, and of leading the Servian people in the path of Progress and of Peace.

CHAPTER XXIV

RECENT HISTORY

By M. GAVRILOVITCH

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In April, 1876, a Cabinet was formed under the presidency of M. Stevtcha Mihailovitch. The dominant force of this Cabinet was, however, M. Yovan Ristitch, Minister for Foreign Affairs, who had come to the decision of declaring war. Shortly after—on the 20th of June—Servia, allied to Montenegro, declared war on Turkey. From the beginning of the war many volunteers came to Servia from Russia and from all the Servian lands, and a great enthusiasm prevailed. The Commander-in-Chief of the Servian forces was the Russian General Tcherniayeff. The war resulted in the defeat of Servia. The Montenegrins were successful, but the Servian army, despite an heroic resistance, was obliged to yield to the overwhelming might of the Turkish forces. The hopes that the Bulgarians would rise, and that Roumania and Greece would also declare war, were not realized. The Servians were beaten at Dionnisse, and the Turkish armies penetrated into Servia from the south and west. In September a short armistice was concluded, and when hostilities should have been resumed, Russia presented an ultimatum to the Porte demanding that the hostilities should cease. The Porte made peace with Servia, and the Conference of the Powers began its labours at Constantinople. Turkey, after her victory over Servia, had gained such confidence in herself that she resisted even the pressure of the Great Powers. The pan-Slavist current had been manifesting itself for some considerable time in Russia, and forcing the Government towards war. The Servian failure in the war and the Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria increased its force, and Russia declared war against Turkey in April, 1877, under the pressure of the pan-Slavists and of the Slavophiles. A pretext for the war was found in the Porte's refusal to carry out the programme of reforms drawn up by the Powers. The Russian army advanced, but when Osman

Pasha entrenched himself at Plevna, and succeeded in repulsing the Russian attacks upon the line of Turkish fortifications, the Russian Government invited Servia to make war, and relieve the pressure on the Russian right wing. It was at the same time that Russia requested the aid of the Roumanian army for the carrying on of the attack on Plevna. However, Servia was exhausted by the last war, and the Servian statesmen did not dare to risk the fate of Servia in face of Turkish victories. It was only after the surrender of Plevna that Servia declared war against Turkey (end of November, 1877). As Austria-Hungary had forbidden Servia from entering into Bosnia-Herzegovina under the pretext that this would affect her interests, Servia was only able to act towards the south and east. A few months' campaign saw the Servian eastern army occupying Nish, Palanka, and Pirot, while it reached as far as Sofia; the southern army took Leskovats, Vranya, Prokuplie, Kurshumlia, and arrived at Kossovo. The Russian army advanced to Adrianople.

Thanks to British intervention, an armistice was arranged between the Porte and Russia, and shortly after the Treaty of Peace of San Stefano. By this treaty a Great Bulgaria was formed, which should include, beyond actual Bulgaria, the whole of Macedonia, part of Old Servia, and part of the actual kingdom of Servia. To Servia there was given relatively little territory, and autonomy was decided upon for Bosnia-Herzegovina. Servian public opinion was disillusioned and discontented with the action of Russian diplomacy. But the Powers themselves would not agree to the creation of a Great Bulgaria, in which Russian influence would be very strong, and which would give her a predominant place in the Balkans. The Congress of Berlin was then convoked, in order to deal with the new position in the Balkans. Russia found herself isolated at the Congress, being exhausted by the war, which had shown the Russian power to be less formidable than was generally thought, but still sufficiently serious to be dangerous if her influence increased in those lands. Conscious of their impotence, the Russian diplomats counselled the Servian representative, M. Yovan Ristitch, to come to an arrangement with Austria-Hungary, since she alone was in a position to do anything for Servia. Austria-Hungary was disposed to aid Servia, but only on condition that her frontiers were extended towards the east, in order that there might be reserved an open Austrian way towards Salonica. In return for her services to Servia, Austria-Hungary obliged that country to construct the railway-line towards Constantinople, to conclude a commercial treaty favourable to Austria-Hungary, to consent to facilities for Austrian works at Djerdap (the Iron

Gates), and eventually to conclude a Customs union with her. It was only after the Servian representative had accepted the Austro-Hungarian conditions and signed the necessary Convention (25th of June, 1878) that Servia received Austrian support at the Congress of Berlin. By the Treaty of Berlin the independence of Servia and Montenegro was recognized, and both States received some addition of territory. Servia was given four departments, and Montenegro a piece of territory giving her access to the Adriatic Sea. The Congress dealt a severe blow to the Servian nation, however, by giving to Austria a European mandate to occupy Bosnia-Herzegovina.

At this period the conflict of the Hungarian Servians against the Hungarians reached its height. During the Turkish wars the leader of the Servian population, Svetozar Miletitch, was imprisoned, despite the fact of his being a Member of Parliament, and the immunity this should have insured to him. At this time the party of Miletitch struggled against the hierarchy, and this struggle became very bitter after the Hungarian Government annulled the election of the ecclesiastical assembly, and illegally appointed Georges Nudjelitch as Servian Patriarch (end of 1881).

Political parties began to form in Servia after the wars. Under the influence of the ideas of Svetozar Markovitch the Radical party came into existence, while the Conservative elements, desiring reforms of modern spirit in Servia, formed the Progressive party with the malcontents of the party of M. Ristitch. Yovan Ristitch having shown himself little inclined to carry out the arrangements with Austria-Hungary for the commercial treaty, the Austrian diplomacy succeeded in overthrowing his Cabinet. King Milan then entrusted the formation of a Cabinet to the Progressives. Shortly after the National Skupchtina declared the Servian kingdom (the 22nd of February, 1882). The Servian, crushed by the first unsuccessful war with Turkey, disillusioned by Russian diplomacy, as shown in the Treaty of San Stefano, and by the creation of a Great Bulgaria, and especially affected by the Austrian occupation of the two most beautiful Servian provinces, welcomed joyfully and hopefully a better future in this proclamation of the kingdom. Nevertheless, serious crises and difficult days came. The formation of the Radical party, to which a considerable number of peasants adhered, brought about a fresh party development. But this development was the cause of a desperate conflict, in which King Milan took sides against the Radicals. When these gained a majority in the elections (September, 1883), King Milan endeavoured to stem the political current. The struggle between the King and the

Radical party became daily more bitter, and when the order was issued to collect the arms of the people, in accordance with an old ordinance, the conflict broke out in September. The people rose in the eastern provinces, and particularly near Zayetchar. The Government at once threw the Central Committee of the Radical party into prison, with the exception of Nicolas Pachitch, who took refuge in Semlin. Many of the insurgents were condemned and shot, and the members of the Central Committee were condemned to death, but had their sentence commuted into imprisonment by the King.

At the same time, while these crises continued in Servia, the Hungarian Servians made a final and unanimous effort against the Hungarians. However, the leader of the National Servian party, Miletitch, fell ill, and disorder began at once to show itself in the party. One group wished to place the policy of the Servians in Hungary on another foundation. This group laid down in its programme, known as the Kikinda programme, its idea of acting with the Hungarians, and proposed common cause as the only sane policy for the Hungarian Servians. A short but bitter struggle broke out between the party of Miletitch and this group, from which the National party emerged victorious. But after this victory disorder and discord took root in the bosom of the National party. Yacha Tomitch left the party, and founded the Radical Servian party. A venomous conflict took place between the Radical and National parties, conducted by Mihäelo Polit and Mihäelo Dimitrievitch. The same happened in the other Servian lands. In Croatia, Baron Kuen Hedervary was appointed as Ban. In order to conquer the country and bring it under Hungary, he provoked systematically conflicts between the Servians and the Croats, thus weakening the force of the people and the resistance against a reactionary system.

The conditions in Bosnia and Herzegovina were the worst. After the great efforts and losses which the population had endured in the struggle for freedom, the Berlin Congress placed this Servian land at the mercy of Austria. Fearing the Bosnian Servians, the Austrian Government, while aiding the Servians against the Croats in Croatia, gave its help to the Croats against the Servians in Bosnia. But the agrarian question, the most burning of all, remained without a solution. Impositions, corvées, and taxes became more heavy and unbearable from day to day, and much exceeded those which had existed under the Turks. Security of person and of property were established, it is true, but the Servian population, principally orthodox, and the Servian Church were oppressed.

The Servian population, remaining under Turkish rule, began, or rather continued, to be pushed back. During the

Serbo-Turkish wars many Servian families had emigrated from the territories which formerly formed the centre of the Servian State of Rascia, and as even before then many families had emigrated under the Patriarch Arsene Tcharnievitch, the country was depopulated, or very sparsely peopled. During the last two centuries the Albanians commenced to crowd out the Servian element in this land, and to encroach upon the purely Servian districts. During the wars a policy of extermination was carried on against the Servians. The Servian schools were closed; the Greek metropolitans were more useful to the Turks than to the Servians of their dioceses; the Albanians forced their way in systematically and expelled forcibly the Servian element, occupying their place. Personal and material security was lost more and more, and existence became difficult and unbearable. The Turkish authorities did not prevent this extermination of the Servian population in Old Servia.

In the summer of 1885 an event occurred which created a serious crisis in the Balkans. The Congress of Berlin had created two Bulgarian States—one separate State under the suzerainty of the Sultan, and the other, Eastern Roumelia, as an autonomous Turkish province. It was certain from the beginning that this state of things could not continue, and that the Bulgarians would seize the first opportunity to unite the two countries. This revolution was made in 1885, and the union of Bulgaria and Roumelia proclaimed. While European diplomacy conducted pourparlers, and deliberated means and measures for solving this question, King Milan declared himself against the change. He was convinced that this Bulgarian addition was dangerous for Servian interests, principally because, owing to the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Servia was shut off from that direction, and could only look towards the south, where she met Bulgaria and Bulgarian interests. Besides this, many Servians had taken refuge in Bulgaria after the insurrection of Zayetchar, and King Milan, who had broken with the Radicals, and was maintaining a Government without a majority amongst the population, feared that these *émigrés* might undertake some action against him in Servia, where there already existed many hostile elements. Confidence in his power, due to the suppression of the insurrection, and in himself, encouraged by Austrian and German diplomacy, and the hope of being able to defeat the Radical party by success in foreign policy—all these led King Milan to pose as the defender of the Berlin Treaty, and to oppose the union of Roumelia and Bulgaria. King Milan declared war against Bulgaria in November, 1885. The opening days of the war were favourable to Servia, and the Servian forces arrived near to Sofia. But when the Rou-

melian army arrived to aid the Bulgarian forces—which had not been reckoned upon by the Servian General Staff—the Servian army was forced to abandon Slivnitza, and, retreating, lost Pirot. By the loss of Pirot the war was decided favourably to the Bulgarians, although the Servian forces still surrounded the Bulgarian fortress of Widdin. An armistice was concluded through the intervention of Austria-Hungary, and soon after the Peace of Bucarest was signed, which made no territorial changes. Servia lost much prestige by this failure, and Bulgaria obtained Eastern Roumelia.

After this war King Milan lost all confidence in himself. Even during its course he thought of abdicating, but he speedily abandoned this intention. He was convinced, however, that he could no longer pursue an internal policy such as he had done before. After the amnesty of the Radicals condemned for the insurrection, and after the conclusion of peace (February, 1886), King Milan set to work to make combinations of political parties. He succeeded in bringing to power a fusionist Cabinet of the Radicals and Liberals, under the presidency of Yovan Ristitch (from the 1st of June to the 19th of December, 1887). After the fall of this Cabinet, King Milan gave the Radicals the duty of forming a Government, but this did not last long. Soon after the war the disputes between King Milan and Queen Natalie began. The King subordinated everything to this personal quarrel, and the Cabinets of Ristitch, and later of Christitch, were called to power for this reason. After his irregular divorce (the 5th of October, 1888), King Milan formed a commission for the drawing up of the new Constitution demanded by public opinion. Towards the end of December of the same year the National Skupchtina adopted this Constitution. It created the necessary conditions for Parliamentary life, and placed the Ministers under the control of the Skupchtina. Up to this time the National Assembly had legislative powers, but not control, over the State administration.

About this time the King decided to abdicate in favour of his son, convinced that he could not work with the Radical party nor resist the development of this party. Possibly he had also personal reasons. King Milan abdicated on the anniversary of the proclamation of the kingdom (the 22nd of February, 1889), and appointed Yovan Ristitch, Kosta Protitch, and Yovan Belimarkovitch as regents of his son Alexander, who was a minor. On the 15th of June of the same year, on the five-hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Kossovo, King Alexander was anointed at the monastery of Jitcha.

At this period the party of Miletitch was broken up in

Hungary. The short but passionate struggle between the supporters of the idea of compromise with the Hungarians and their adversaries finished with the abolition of the programme of Kikindra. But this struggle was replaced by another, equally violent, between the two factions of the original party of Miletitch—the national Liberal party, with a new programme (its newspaper was the *Branik*), and the Radical party, whose leader, Yacha Tomitch, married the daughter of Miletitch, and received the ownership of the newspaper *Qastava*. The personal questions which embittered this fierce conflict brought about a catastrophe in the end, and on the 23rd of December, 1889, Yacha Tomitch killed the editor of the *Branik*, Michäelo Dimitrievitch. In Bosnia and Herzegovina the occupation was followed by a struggle between the authorities and the Servian population. This centred around the desire to obtain autonomy for the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The divisions between the Croats and the Servians, encouraged by the authorities, increased. The formation of the Independent party in Croatia gave a new impetus to the political life of the Servian people. In Dalmatia the sentiments between the Croats and the Servians were not too violent, while the Italians were practically effaced. Montenegro made a great step forward by the promulgation of its Civil Code.

After the abdication of King Milan and the introduction of the Parliamentary system, the struggles of the parties began. The greatest movement of these struggles was reached under the Liberal party's government (the 9th of August, 1892, to the 1st of April, 1893), which endeavoured by every possible means to obtain a majority, but without success. King Alexander declared himself of age on the 1st of April, 1893, although this was contrary to the Constitution. This *coup d'état* gave practically unlimited power into the hands of the Radicals for a short time. Soon, however, King Alexander came into conflict with the Radicals, and as he did not wish to work with them, and as the Constitution of 1888 did not permit him to ignore them, he made a second *coup d'état* with Svetomir Nicolayevitch, suspending the Constitution of 1888, and enforcing that of 1869. From this time Cabinets followed each other in rapid succession — the neutral Cabinet of Nicolas Christitch (the 15th of October, 1894, to the 25th of June, 1895); the Progressive Cabinet of Novakovitch (the 25th of June, 1895, to the 17th of December, 1896); and the Radical Cabinet of Georges Simitch (the 17th of December, 1896, to the 11th of October, 1897).

At this period there began an energetic work in the Servian lands in Turkey. A powerful action was begun in Macedonia, where the Servian element strengthened itself, despite the fact

that the Bulgarians obtained episcopal seats, and despite a determined hostility shown by the Patriarch at Constantinople against the Servians and their ideas. A national advance made itself felt in all the Servian lands. The visit of Prince Nicolas of Montenegro to Belgrade (1896) was a manifestation of the common interests of Servians. The Servians in Hungary received a strong moral support from Servia on the occasion of the millennial fête of Hungary. A cultured society (the Srpsko Bratstvo) was founded in Bosnia, and began to work towards the organization of the Servian people. Servia was placed in a difficult position, and underwent a severe economic crisis because of the closing of the Austro-Hungarian frontier, and the demonstrations against the Servians at Agram (autumn, 1895) proved that the idea of a Serbo-Croat union had not taken root, although supported by many. The national successes were the rapprochement of Servia with Montenegro, and the nomination of a Servian Metropolitan to the Bishopric of Rascia Prizrend.

The political situation created by the Græco-Turkish War was not, perhaps, made the most of (spring, 1897), although the expulsion of the Greek Metropolitan from Uskub prepared the way for the acquisition of this seat by the Servians. At this period there was shown a serious endeavour to bring about an *entente* and common action between the Servians and the Croats. The representatives of these brother-peoples in Dalmatia elaborated a programme of common action, and amongst the younger elements in Croatia there appeared the first germs of a movement destined later to result in the Serbo-Croat coalition.

In Servia, King Alexander made another political stroke by bringing into power the Cabinet of Vladan Georgevitch, and recalling his father to Servia (the 11th of October, 1897, to the 12th of July, 1900). This brought about a strong reaction in the internal politics of Servia. In the month of February, 1899, relations with Russia were broken off because of certain personal questions. Shortly afterwards a violent conflict broke out between the Patriarch Brankovitch of Karlovits and the Bishop of Verchats Smeianovitch. On the 24th of June, 1899, there was an attempt made against King Milan ; a state of siege was proclaimed, and courts-martial instituted. The leading Radicals were thrown into prison and condemned. King Milan worked continuously at the organization of the army during his stay in Servia. Notwithstanding his good work in this direction, the reaction, the persecution of the Radicals, and the imprisonment of the Radical leaders, brought about a great discontent in the country.

King Alexander made use of this discontent to further his

marriage. In the month of June, 1900, when both his father and the President of the Council of Ministers, Vladan Georgevitch, were abroad, King Alexander married Madame Mashin, widow of the engineer Mashin, and former lady-in-waiting of Queen Natalie. King Milan, the Cabinet, the officers, corps, and all sincere friends of the Obrenovitch dynasty opposed this marriage. Madame Mashin was older than the King, and there was no possibility that the King should have children. Nevertheless, the majority of the people welcomed the news, because the Radical leaders were released and an end put to reaction. King Alexander tried to work with the Radicals after his marriage. He imposed a new Constitution, providing for two Chambers, on the 6th of April, 1901. On this occasion he insisted upon the fusion of the Radical and Progressive parties, which should put the new Constitution into force, and elaborate new laws on this foundation. The fusion did not last long, and the King again turned against the Radicals. He called to power General Tzintzar Markovitch, and a new reactionary era began to be felt in internal affairs. Profound dissatisfaction was felt throughout the entire people. These experiments and changes, the uncertainty and disorganized finances, the persecution of the strongest party, the favouritism of officials, the irregularity in the payment of officials, the conduct of the brothers of the Queen—all these called forth profound discontent among the people, the officers, and officials.

A conspiracy was organized with the object of exterminating the Obrenovitch dynasty, and of bringing to the Servian throne the Karageorgevitch dynasty. Several political men and officers took part in it. Events helped its accomplishment. The simulated accouchement of Queen Draga; the demonstrations of the 23rd of March, 1903, at Belgrade, which had several victims, and which showed the intensity of popular dissatisfaction against the régime and the reigning dynasty; the *coup d'état* of the 25th of March, by which the Constitution and several laws were suspended, with the object of changing the members of the Courts, the tribunals, and the Senate; the falsification of elections—all these encouraged the conspirators in their intentions. On the night of the 28th-29th of May the conspiring officers entered the Palace and killed King Alexander and Queen Draga. The two brothers of the Queen; the Prime Minister, Tzintzar Markovitch; the Minister of War, Paulevitch; and the first aide-de-camp of the King, L. Petrovitch, also perished that night. The army proclaimed Peter Karageorgevitch King of Servia. Some days later the National Skupchtina met to reinforce the Constitution of 1888, and to elect Peter I. Karageorgevitch King of Servia.

While these great changes were happening in Servia others were passing in the adjacent Servian lands. Although people worked constantly in Dalmatia for a Serbo-Croat *entente*, the antagonism between the Serbs and the Croats was kept up by the régime itself in Croatia, and showed itself from time to time by conflicts. The antagonism was transferred from the national to the economic field, especially at Agram, where great industry in this sense was shown: a systematic creation and organization of communities of agriculturists was proceeded with, and the commercial and manufacturing classes were strengthened by founding the Servian Bank and manufacturing schools.

After the great demonstrations at Agram (October, 1902), the Independent party in Croatia reorganized itself. At the side of the men who worked to strengthen the people economically (Lazar Matievitch and the others) a group of men placed themselves, who entered upon the political struggle on another basis (Bogdan Medakovitch, Svetozar Pribitchevitch, etc.). Convinced that the interests of the Servian and Croatian people are identical in general, and especially in Croatia, the Servian independent party began to work energetically for the rapprochement of the Servians and the Croats. By the resolutions of Zadar (Zara) and of Rieka (Fiume)—February, 1906—the coalition of the Servian Independent party and of the Radical Servian party, with the greater number of the parties of the Croat opposition, was arrived at. Circumstances helped this work. The Hungarians had come into collision with Austria and the Court of Vienna, and the idea of the community of the Jugo Slavs (slaves of the south) had arisen. The Serbo-Croat coalition and the Servians, both in Servia and in Bosnia, offered their moral help to the Hungarians in this struggle against Vienna. At the elections to the Croatian Diet the coalition won the victory and obtained the majority.

In Servia, however, even after the murder of the King Alexander, and after the accession to the throne of Servia of Peter Karageorgevitch, the situation did not become clearer. The Parliamentary situation became difficult by the scission of the Radical party into two groups or new parties—the Radicals (' Old Radicals ') and the Independent Radicals (' Young Radicals '). This division had already begun in the reign of King Alexander, and now it had developed fully. After the elections the two parties presented themselves at the Skupchtina in nearly equal strength. The coalition Government of these two parties formed after the elections could not continue.

At this period Servia began the Customs war with Austria-Hungary. She remained for nearly two years without a treaty of commerce with Austria-Hungary, and began a

severe struggle for economic emancipation. When, in the month of February, 1908, the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs decided on the construction of the railway from Mitrovitza, Servia began to work to obtain the construction of the railway from the Danube to the Adriatic Sea. This line should assure to Servia outlet to the sea, and in that way her economic independence.

The situation began to improve, in so far as that the finances were in order, and that the national idea and that of Slav solidarity were strengthened. The national work became more severe.

The national strength and spirit have shown themselves in recent times, especially in Macedonia. At the time when the Serbo-Croat and Serbo-Bulgarian *ententes* were taking place (especially on the occasion of the coronation of King Peter I., the 8th of September, 1904) the Bulgarian bands commenced great activity in Macedonia, not only against the Turks, but also against the Servians. This provoked a reaction on the part of the Servians. Soon after the Servians began to organize bands to defend themselves against the attacks of the Bulgarians. The Servians flowed from all parts into Macedonia to enrol themselves in the bands, and many of them perished in the combats with the Bulgarians and the Turkish army (1906-1908). The struggles of these bands raised the Servian national spirit, and strengthened the confidence in themselves of the Servian element in Turkey, the Servian Komitadjis and individuals having shown a heroic courage. On the proclamation of the Constitution in Turkey (the 11th of July, 1908) the action of the bands ceased, and the Eastern question entered a new phase.

While the struggle of the Servians and the Bulgarians in Macedonia gravely compromised the community of the Jugo Slavs (in fact it was practically almost abandoned), the idea of a Serbo-Hungarian community was very quickly frustrated. After having overturned the Liberal régime and come into power, the Hungarian coalition took up a hostile attitude towards the Servians and the Croats. It came into collision with the Serbo-Croat coalition, which defended itself with success, although it was abandoned by the Servian Radical party. At the new elections, after the dissolution of the Croatian Landtag, the Servo-Croat coalition gained a brilliant victory.

The political situation in Servia still did not clear up. After the division of the Radical and Independent Radical parties, the King confided the Government to the Independent Radicals. They had obtained a weak majority at the elections, but, after having been a year in power, they offered their resignation to the King on account of a disagreement with him on the

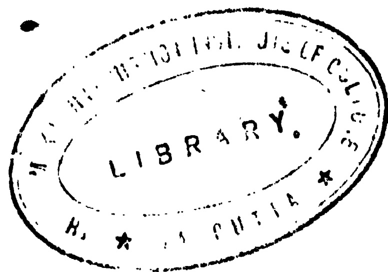
question of the conspirators. They were followed by the old Radicals, who renewed relations with England after having dismissed the principal chiefs of the conspiracy. A loan for the armament and construction of the railways was concluded. However, relations between the Radicals and the Independent Radicals became more and more strained, especially on account of the distrust which the Radical Independents had for M. Pachitch, the chief of the Radical party. Finally, the Independent Radicals obliged the Pachitch Cabinet, by continued obstruction, to dissolve the Skupchtina, and to proceed to new elections. At these elections (the 18th of May, 1908) the Government obtained a majority, but smaller than it had before, and it resigned, since the Independent Radicals had decided to continue obstruction. After a long crisis a transition Cabinet was formed, under the presidency of M. Petar Velimirovitch (July, 1908). Recent events, however, brought about a coalition Cabinet, formed of the leaders of all political parties, in order adequately to defend the national interests against Austria subsequent upon the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Moreover, Prince Nicolas of Montenegro granted on the 5th of November, 1905, a Constitution to Montenegro, and convoked the National Skupchtina. Parliamentary life provoked from the outset great crises and struggles. The struggles commenced at once between the parties, and then Prince Nicolas put himself against the National party, which demanded greater liberty than the Prince was willing to accord. A reaction soon took place, and the Tomanovitch employed strong repressive measures against the Opposition. The so-called 'bomb' affair, in which the most notable representatives of the Opposition were inculpated and condemned, provoked great discontent in Montenegro and the temporary interruption of diplomatic relations between Servia and Montenegro.

The question of the Church played a great rôle in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Recently it was the centre of the struggle of the Servian people, but the opposition against the work of the Servian representatives grew stronger, and became general after the passing of the school law. A group of young men demanded the abandonment of the struggle for the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and to begin a contest against the Austrian régime on the political field. It was thus that the Servian people of Bosnia-Herzegovina began to organize themselves politically by the resolution of Sarajevo of the 11th of May, 1907. The first National Skupchtina, held at Sarajevo the 26th of October, 1907, drew up the programme, of which the first point was to demand the autonomy of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Whilst the Independent party carried on in Croatia a well-thought-out and energetic struggle, chaos was established among the Servian parties in Hungary. The party of the Branive is almost destroyed, and the Radical party shows signs of weakness and division. The want is felt of a new, solid, and real party. The Democratic party was formed at the Conference of Betchey the 8th of July, 1908. Its programme was drawn up at that Conference.

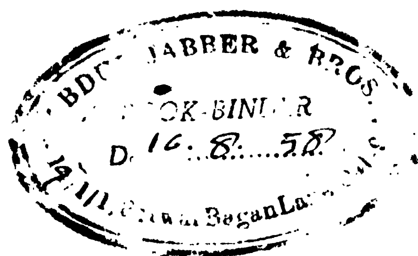
The strenuous national work in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in Croatia, and in Servia in recent times provoked measures of repression on the part of Austria-Hungary. Proceedings were begun against the Servians under the pretext of Servian propaganda, and a state of terror arose in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which terminated in the annexation of these two countries.



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THE END.

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